DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 285 264 EA 019 606

AUTHOR Randell, Shirley, Ed.
TITLE Making Progress: Women in Management in Primary & Secondary Education in Australia. Report of a National Conference (3rd, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory, Australia, August 1-4, 1985).
INSTITUTION Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority, Canberra.; Australian Coll. of Education, Carlton, Victoria.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-909587-35-3
PUB DATE Oct 85
NOTE 225p.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Administrators; Elementary Secondary Education; *Equal Opportunities (Jobs); *Females; *Sex Discrimination; *Women Faculty; Workshops
IDENTIFIERS *Australia

ABSTRACT

This report describes the third conference that the Australian College of Education has conducted on women in educational administration in Australia. Over 150 educators attended, 90 percent of whom were women. Meetings and workshops were designed to canvass four major issues: (1) a political view of imperatives for change; (2) research reports on women's current position in government and non-government systems and schools; (3) progress reports; and (4) the design of strategies for change. Following introductory essays by Shirley Randell and Ros Kelly, the papers appear under three major headings. Under the first heading, "The Current Situation for Women in Management in Primary and Secondary Education," four papers are listed: "Women Teachers and Promotion: A Search for Some Explanations" (Shirley Sampson); "Women Principals in Australia" (Judith Chapman); "Laywomen as Principals in Catholic Secondary Schools?" (Janice Nash); and "Women in Management in Independent Schools in Australia: Is Our Past Still Ahead of Us?" (Di Fleming). Under "State Overviews," nine papers appear: "The Development of an Equal Employment Opportunity Management Plan in New South Wales" (Kerry Hyland); "Making the Invisible Visible in Victoria" (Veronica Schwarz); "Changing the Position of Women in the Primary Schools of the Victorian Education Department" (Marilyn Jamieson and Barry Sheehan); "Teaching: An Attractive Career for Women?" (Ann Scott and Eddie Clarke); "The South Australian Experience" (John Steinle); "Gender Equity Policy in the Education Department of Western Australia" (Warren Louden); "Women in Educational Management in Primary and Secondary Schools in Tasmania" (Beverly Richardson, Margaret Lonergan and Jan Edwards); "Women in Educational Management in the Northern Territory" (Lyn Powierza); and "Women in Educational Management in the Australian Capital Territory" (Barry Price). Under "Making Progress," six papers are listed: "Women in Management in Unions" (Di Foggo and Jennie George); "Women as Candidates for Educational Administration: A Second Interpretation" (Peter OBrien); "Lessons from the Affirmative Action Pilot Program" (Maureen Bickley); "Getting Past 'Shock-Horror': Stages in the Acceptance of Equal Opportunity in an Organisation" (Hester Eisenstein); "Making Progress" (Rosemary Gracanin); and "Toward the Year 2000--Reflections on the Nairobi End of the United Nations Decade for Women Forum and Conference" (Gail Radford). Included are seven appendices. (MLH)

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THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY SCHOOLS AUTHORITY

MAKING PROGRESS: WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT IN PRIMARY & SECONDARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

REPORT OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE
1-4 AUGUST 1985, CANBERRA, ACT

Edited by
Shirley Randell

The Australian College of Education,
Carlton, Victoria

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Published by: The Australian College of Education
James Darling House
916 Swanston Street
Carlton, Vic. 3053

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National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 909587 35 3

'At present my chances for promotion are so remote that I'll have to work out some way of getting up the system, e.g. open positions. I'm a bit cynical about them though. Some open positions appear to be written for one person and you don't get a lot of encouragement towards promotion if you're a so-called nice, middle-class married lady. The fellows get the support and the career expectations, but there's a lot of women who'll just accept what I'd see as a subservient role. They really often do seem to get pushed around. Some friends of mine are like that - the salary is good, the holidays are good, they enjoy the sense of fulfillment ... it's not fulfilling for me. They're very much the second income earners. If the kids are sick, they are the ones to take time off. In our family it's often easier for my husband to take time off when the children are sick. I think a lot of the reason that there's so few women in senior positions is societal conditioning and expectations of little girls. They see themselves as serving and helping in secondary roles. That, plus the fact that women teachers had to resign on marriage in the past and be on temporary employment.'

Cited in: Skinner, K. (1980) *Women and Promotion: some women's perceptions of the influences on their teaching careers* South Australian Education Department, Adelaide.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editor is indebted to the following persons and organisations:

To Dr Greg Hancock, Chief Education Officer, and staff of the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority for jointly sponsoring the enterprise.

To the Council of the Australian College of Education through its Projects Committee, for funding and other support.

To government and non-government education authorities, principal, teacher and parent associations for their support in enabling representatives to attend the conference.

To the authors for their contributions.

To the Conference Steering Committee, the chairpersons of conference sessions, the leaders of conference workshops and all participants in the conference for their contribution.

Shirley Randell

FOREWORD

The Australian College of Education is a professional association which represents educators at all levels and in all parts of Australia. Its members include infant school teachers; administrators and teachers from the government and non-government sectors, primary and secondary schools, universities and TAFE sectors.

The College is not affiliated with any political body, union or other group. Its charter specifically excludes an industrial or union-related role. It can, therefore, speak for education in an objective manner. In recent years the College has set out deliberately to sponsor informed debate on a number of significant issues affecting the Australian education community. A key issue of interest to a high proportion of members relates to the role of women in educational management. In 1985 the College co-sponsored with the ACT Schools Authority the third of the series of conferences addressing this issue. Evidence of the significance of this issue is found in the level of participation at each conference, support for the recommendations arising from these and the popularity of the proceedings. Within the College itself there has been a noticable increase in the proportion of female members. Although women currently represent about 25% of all members; in 1985 over 40% of new members were women. This reflects the College's new emphasis on equitable representation in all its activities. The moving force in each of these developments has been the President-elect, Ms Shirley Randell. I take this opportunity to congratulate her and her steering committee on these initiatives.

The papers printed in this volume reflect the concerns of those who attended this third conference. Their recommendations are designed to contribute to current debate in all school systems. The College is delighted to be able to publish the proceedings from this important third conference in the hope of further progress for women in management in school systems.

Dr P B Botsman, A.M.
President

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INTRODUCTION

Shirley Randell

When 'The Year of Women' was first announced it was considered by many men and women to be a rather humorous event. But the declaration by the United Nations of International Women's Year and the subsequent Decade for Women have been instrumental in raising awareness of women's issues in all countries of the world.

New initiatives, original research and ground-breaking decisions have emerged from the Year and women realise that this new awareness is still only beginning. The Decade for Women has brought home to many that women are half the world's people and 'hold up half the sky'; that women represent half the world's wisdom, strength, labour force and intelligence.

Women are a factor in public life which can no longer be overlooked; they have been taking initiatives and pioneering activities for justice, development, peace and equality in education and in many other fields. Society's great institutions, including the church, the law and education, have become aware of their often oppressive attitudes about women.

It is thus fitting that this publication which records progress in Australian schools and school systems towards the participation of women in educational decision making is published in the year which celebrates the End of the Decade for Women. Equal employment opportunity is now recognised as justifiable on the grounds of equity, efficiency and effectiveness. While there is still a long way to go before equality of opportunity in Australian society is attained, the way ahead is clearer and a start has been made upon it.

Schools and school systems have a great responsibility to become a credible sign of a truly inclusive community of women and men, by transforming their structures and abandoning all discrimination and marginalisation based on sex, race or class.

OVERVIEW

Shirley Randell

Background

In 1982 the national Projects Committee of the Australian College of Education declared the issue of the participation of women in educational management to be a priority. In February 1983 the Council approved a grant for a national conference as the first stage of a national assessment of this topic. The Council approved a further grant in 1984 towards the sponsoring, jointly with the Institute of Higher Education, University of New England, Armidale, of a second conference on the participation of women in higher education management. The proceedings of these conferences have been published in *Changing Focus: The Participation of Women in Educational Management in Australia* and *The Way Forward: Women in Higher Education Management in Australia*. This publication reports the proceedings of a third conference in the series, jointly sponsored in 1985 by the College and the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority, on the participation of women in management in primary and secondary education in Australia.

Aims and Outcomes

The aims of the conference were:

- to share knowledge about the extent of participation of women in educational management and the policies, programs and processes being developed by practitioners in the systems and schools;
- to identify attitudinal and structural barriers to greater participation by women in educational management;
- to access avenues for the professional development of women in educational management;
- to formulate proposals for action consistent with the principles of equity in relation to decision-making structures, curriculum offerings, industrial relations, anti-discrimination legislation, financial planning, policy formulation and personnel;
- to disseminate findings throughout Australia;
- to recommend appropriate action to the participating organisations.

Participants

Invitations were sent to directors-general of all State and Territory education departments in Australia requesting them to support the conference by sending a team of men and women, including a senior administrator, a senior policy maker, a member of the equal employment opportunity committee, a regional administrator, a secondary school principal and a primary school principal. In addition, invitations were extended to national and state Catholic education offices and independent school associations, government and

non-government principal, teacher and parent associations and to senior women known to be interested in the topic. This group included Aboriginal women and women from non-English speaking backgrounds.

The response was gratifying - over one hundred and fifty people attended, although less than 10 per cent were men (Appendix 2).

Pre-Conference Activity

Prior to the conference a set of education readings was distributed to all participants. These included the recommendations relating to higher education from the 1983 Melbourne Conference on the Participation of Women in Educational Management, a paper by Eileen Byrne 'Legislative and non-legislative concepts of direct and indirect discrimination', a preliminary report by Shirley Sampson 'Teachers and promotions study, 1984', publications by Judith Chapman *Selection and Appointment of Australian School Principals* and Veronica Schwarz *Women in the Education Department of Victoria*, and abstracts of papers to be presented at the conference.

A set of issues for consideration was also included for discussion at pre-conference meetings which were held in most States (See Appendix 3).

Program

The conference, held on 1-4 August 1985 at the O'Connell Education Centre of the ACT Schools Authority in Canberra, was organised by a steering committee consisting of system administrators and school principals from the Authority, members of the College's national projects committee, a management educator, the director of the Commonwealth Schools' Commission's Education of Girls Unit, and corresponding members nominated by the directors-general of state education departments.

Three workshop groups were arranged. The first workshop groups, representative of levels of education, states and interests, met once to identify issues of concern to participants. These issues were synthesised into areas for ten workshops and participants elected to attend one of them (Appendix 4). This second series of workshops met six times to analyse key issues, consider questions and form recommendations and strategies. The third workshop groups focussed on state location and were designed to stimulate the formation of local networks and the organisation of follow up meetings.

The program was designed to canvass four major issues; a political view of the imperatives for change; research reports on the current position of women in government and non-government systems and schools; reviews of progress being made across Australia, and the design of strategies for change.

The conference was opened by the Chief Education Officer of the ACT Schools Authority, Dr Greg Hancock, who welcomed participants to Canberra. The immediate past President of the Australian College of Education, Professor William Walker, provided some background to the event. The Commonwealth Minister for Education, Senator Susan Ryan, was unable to attend because of cabinet commitments and Mrs Ros Kelly,

MHR, Member for Canberra gave the opening address. She outlined three imperatives for change: firstly, the importance of redressing the obvious inequalities that exist in education systems; secondly, the need to encourage organisations to utilise all the human resources available to them in an efficient and effective way; thirdly, the need to acknowledge the skills and abilities of all the components of Australia's population.

On Friday morning the opening session was devoted to a report from Dr Shirley Sampson, Senior Lecturer in Education, Monash University on a national 1984 survey of qualifications and prior experience. The report examined perceptions of discrimination and attitudes to promotion of 2,380 female and male teachers in primary and secondary schools in all states. It was found that women teachers wanted promotion for similar reasons to men but that they had not been allocated 'apprenticeship' experiences to administrative roles. Tasks distributed by principals and senior staff were quite unequally allocated to men. An analysis of perceptions of discrimination revealed uniformity in the views of many women and men. Dr Sampson's study provided substantial evidence of the importance of a small number of factors which retard women's advancement and must be dealt with by education systems.

Other sessions on the first day outlined the current situation for women in management in primary and secondary education in both government and non-government sectors. Dr Judith Chapmman, Senior Lecturer in Education, Monash University, reported the results of two major national studies on Australian school principals. In addition to providing important benchmark data on the personal and professional characteristics of principals and detailed information on the procedures adopted in principal selection, the studies drew attention to alarming statistics. In 1983 only 23 per cent of Australian school principals were female, and recent evidence about principal selection in Victoria where community participation has been introduced showed a deteriorating situation for women. Dr Chapman made suggestions about the constitution of selection committees, the consideration of evidence, the framing of interview questions and the procedures for reaching decisions. She argued that local selection committees must be educated to look analytically at what constituted an effective principal in order to avoid a reliance on traditional images of leaders and stereotypic notions of leadership behaviour.

Ms Janice Nash, English/History Co-ordinator at St Andrew's Cathedral School in the Sydney Archdiocese, New South Wales, reported on research she had conducted examining why there were so few laywomen as principals in Catholic secondary schools. The numbers of men and women from the teaching orders capable of filling executive positions has declined and male lay principals have generally replaced the religious. Unintentional systemic discrimination included ineligibility because of lack of experience in administration, the expectation that women will spend more time at the classroom level and the lack of incidental professional training. Factors attributed to women teachers themselves included lack of aspiration, ambition and self-confidence. Societal attitudes, beliefs and practices were also seen to prejudice women in the promotional stakes. In particular, the Catholic church was perceived as endorsing traditional attitudes towards the role of women in Australian society. Realistic strategies

to lessen the disadvantages for women seeking promotion positions in Catholic education were suggested.

A case study was used by Ms Di Fleming, Vice President of the Australian Council for Educational Administration, to illustrate one administrative response to co-education in relation to the position of women in educational management in independent schools. The co-educational movement has led to many women in single-sex schools losing their management positions to men. In Victoria the principals of all coeducational and single sex schools for boys are men whereas less then 50 per cent of the principals of girls schools are women.

The second day of the conference was devoted to State experience, with the emphasis on positive steps being taken to redress the balance for women in management.

Ms Kerry Hyland, Equal Employment Opportunity Co-ordinator, New South Wales Department of Education, reported on the Department's Equal Employment Opportunity Management Plan for the Education Teaching Service. The management plan provides a profile of relevant departmental policies, practices and personnel against which changes can be measured.

The plan involves a review of personnel practices including recruitment techniques, selection criteria, conditions of service and transfer, and promotion patterns and opportunities. Strategies developed by senior officers in the department will improve personnel practices and the representation of women at various levels in the Education Teaching Service.

There were two contributions from Victoria. Ms Veronica Schwarz, Policy and Planning Officer, Education Department of Victoria, reported on her research detailing the basic data on the position of women in the department in 1984. The number of women in senior positions in the teaching service since formal equality was instituted in Victoria in 1972 has actually deteriorated, and the distribution of male and female teachers in 1984 was no better than in 1925 when artificial ratios were created to limit the number of women in senior positions. Ms Schwarz argued that the invisible barriers of attitudes and social expectations must also be highlighted - made visible and highly unacceptable. She drew attention to the sexual division of labour and the current concept of masculinity as two of the most basic impediments to women's progress. The status of women will only change as the relationships of men and women are radically changed, beginning with focusing equal opportunity programs equally on girls and boys, their attitudes to themselves and each other.

Ms Marilyn Jamieson, Senior Education Officer, Education Department of Victoria and Dr Barry Sheehan, Director, Melbourne College of Advanced Education, examined the common traditional perception of primary teaching as both a female occupational stronghold and, until recent years, a fail-safe route for social mobility against the perspective of gross gender imbalances in favour of men at the senior levels of primary school administration and beyond. The relative absence of women from senior administrative levels was explored in terms of several standard explanatory models. Ms Jamieson and Dr Sheehan argued that primary education could be a

particularly vulnerable sector for a major and effective strategic push for redress of structural imbalances in the system, and that the career structure itself should be the subject of critical focus.

The Queensland paper, by Dr Ann Scott and Dr Eddie Clarke, Education Officers in the Policy and Information Services Branch of the Queensland Department of Education, was in three parts. Following a brief overview of the history of women in educational management in Queensland, recent developments in the United States were described and a hypothesis developed about the future of teaching and education management as a career path for women. This hypothesis was tested against Queensland statistics to show that assumptions upon which women's career structures and opportunities were based in the past are now inappropriate. Overall career structures within the teaching profession should be re-examined to ensure the quality of education in Australia, as well as to meet the sectional interests of women.

Mr John Steinle, Director-General of Education, South Australian Education Department, described structural changes introduced in South Australia to encourage women to seek managerial/promotional posts. He identified distinct and positive differences in the way senior women in South Australia approached and performed their jobs and anticipated the development of more gender-inclusive models of management which would be far more attractive to aspiring women. Mr Steinle paid particular attention to the desirability of moving out of an era in which discriminatory practices were curtailed into one where differences in the workplace and the social responsibilities that women have traditionally fulfilled are valued.

Dr Warren Louden, Deputy Director-General of Education, outlined the dramatic changes over the last two years in policy on gender equity in the curriculum and in staffing in the Education Department of Western Australia. From a curriculum point of view a substantial program of system support for schools has been introduced. The aim is to facilitate the development in every school and classroom of an action-oriented policy on gender equity. With respect to staffing policies and practices, the last of the regulations which directly discriminated against women was removed in 1984. A number of other changes have introduced employment conditions specifically geared to further the interests of women teachers. Further, a program of affirmative action to increase the number of women in promotional positions has begun. Dr Louden provided an overview of these initiatives, pointing out both the successes and the hurdles still to be jumped.

The Tasmanian paper was presented by three women: Beverley Richardson, Deputy Director (Student Services), Jan Edwards, Senior Education Officer in the Tasmanian Education Department, and Margaret Lonergan, a Primary Representative from the Tasmanian Teachers Federation. The results of the *Tasmanian Teacher Mobility Study* were reported and strategies to encourage women to apply for positions were outlined. They described the work in schools to change attitudes of both boys and girls.

Dr Barry Price, Senior Director(Resources), ACT Schools Authority, described the current limited representation of women in the ACT Schools Authority. He outlined the major barriers to improvement as

the eligibility system, selection panels, assumptions about women's career aspirations, limited promotion positions and lack of mobility between sectors. Strategies to overcome these barriers through the Authority's equal employment opportunity program were described, in particular the provision of positive encouragement to build women's confidence and expertise.

The Northern Territory paper, presented by Lyn Powierza, Superintendent, Equal Opportunity Policy Unit, Northern Territory Department of Education, described the composition of the Teaching Service and discussed the reasons for the dramatic decrease in the proportion of women moving up the seniority ladder in the Northern Territory. A high turnover of staff in the Territory makes it easier for women to take up senior positions, but women are under-represented within the advisory and administrative sections of the department. Ms Powierza described progress being made.

In providing a teachers' union perspective, Ms Di Foggo, Industrial Officer and Ms Jennie George, President, Australian Teachers' Federation commented on the rise of women's membership in white collar unions in the past decade. The resurgence of the women's movement and the influence of feminism in the early 1970s heightened awareness about the specific problems faced by women workers and the connection between their position and the sexual division of labour within society. However, the growth of pressure groups seeking to pursue women's concerns in unions, the recognition of the need to address women workers' concerns and the broader community concerns of working women have not substantially changed the fact that senior union positions are held by men. Ms Foggo and Ms George argued that the principles of affirmative action are as necessary and relevant to the trade union movement as they are in the workforce and education sectors generally.

An interesting parents' perspective was to have been provided in a paper by Ms Pat Reeve, Deputy Chairperson, State Board of Education, Victoria and President, Australian Council of State School Organisations. Unfortunately she was unable to be present at the conference. In the abstract of her paper she reflected on her experience of being invisible as a parent and a woman, 'just a mother', despite her efforts as a parent representative working in voluntary and paid positions. Ms Reeve advocated the need for strategies to bring about lasting reforms, not merely personal success. Women's perspectives have to be brought to bear on the analysis and development of effective management structures and procedures.

Dr Peter OBrien, Vice-Chairperson, School of Education and Senior Lecturer in Education Administration at Flinders University, examined the success of women candidates for postgraduate awards in educational administration in one university degree and diploma program. He compared men and women candidates on selected variables and reviewed the record in the light of two themes selected from the research literature: the over- or under-achievment of graduate programs. Dr OBrien concluded that the results represented a layered truth and cautioned against the gratification of having an opinion until the evidence was further examined.

In reporting lessons to be learned from the Commonwealth's *Affirmative Action Pilot Program*, Ms Maureen Bickley, Consultant, Affirmative Action Resource Unit, Office of the Status of Women, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, reviewed the results of the voluntary participation of 28 of Australia's leading companies and three higher education institutions in the program. Participants in the program have undertaken a series of steps designed to introduce affirmative action for women into their organisations and each has pursued an individual program with these steps forming the common framework. The program has made it obvious that increasing women's participation in non-traditional areas requires a concerted effort by both employers and educators. Employers need to ensure that there are no barriers present in their personnel policies and practices. The education sector should accelerate activities designed both to prepare women and girls for non-traditional work and encourage them actively to seek such work.

Ms Hester Eisenstein, Assistant Director, Office of Equal Employment Opportunity in Public Employment, New South Wales focused on successful strategies adopted as part of the affirmative action program by the New South Wales Government to increase the numbers of women in management positions. She drew examples from the experience of tertiary education institutions, the education department, technical and further education institutions and other public service organisations.

In summarising the theme of the conference 'Making Progress' Ms Rosemary Gracanin, Assistant Director of Education, Education Department of South Australia tried to untangle the 'web of stretched rubber bands' which had become evident during the conference. Participants had gained a clearer picture of current practice but confirmed that there was still a long way to go, with only 23 per cent of women in principal positions. However, women were beginning to feel secure as part of a national network of able, capable, successful women. At this conference men participated as speakers and full-time members and contributed to the feeling of equality as participants helped each other in a non-competitive way, showing that men and women can function in a co-operative, collaborative manner in overcoming the inequality of women in management positions. She highlighted emerging issues as selection procedures for senior positions, composition of panels, social attitudes towards women in management, the changing role of the manager, personal career planning and research.

Papers delivered at the conference are included in the main body of the report and the background of contributors is listed in Appendix 7.

Recommendations

Recommendations developed in workshops were presented during the closing plenary session of the conference (Appendix 1). The response of workshops was overwhelming. Most recommendations were based on principles enunciated throughout the conference: namely, the fundamental right of women and men to be equally responsible for the management of schools and education systems; equitable representation of women and men in policy formulation and decision making in schools and education systems; improved access to professional development in

management which may entail special provision for women and improved information collection and dissemination relating to educational management. The recommendations were wide ranging, covering policy and programs, funding, structure, statistics, personnel, professional development and research and were directed to the Australian College of Education, the Commonwealth Schools Commission, the Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth and State Departments, government and non-government education systems, and authorities, teachers' unions and participants. The recommendations were subsequently forwarded to all participants for endorsement.

Since the conference the Council of the Australian College of Education and the ACT Schools Authority have approved the publication of the report and referred recommendations to relevant people, authorities and organisations. State action groups have met to continue the momentum beyond the conference. Progress has been made in the area of women in educational management but that progress is still alarmingly slow and more needs to be done.

The Canberra conference was a fruitful third stage of the Australian College of Education's national assessment of the participation of women in educational management. In 1986 the College hopes to sponsor a fourth conference which will focus on some of the issues raised since 1983.

In closing the conference Shirley Randell referred again to the Nairobi Non-Government Organisations Forum and United Nations Conference to mark the end of the UN Decade for Women on Equality, Development and Peace. A report of these meetings was given at the conference dinner by Dr Gail Radford, Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Bureau, Commonwealth Public Service Board and Salamo Fulivai, a Tongan participant. A major outcome of the UN meetings had been an acknowledgment that the struggle of women for change cannot be isolated from the struggle of other marginalised groups; blacks, the poor and oppressed. And indeed women's struggle for change cannot be successful without the support of men. Women especially need to be united in their efforts to change the world, even though there may be diversity in those efforts, working non-violently, patiently, learning from each other how to change the unjust structures of society. Women need to act, to speak up, to assert themselves at home, at work and in the community. This struggle for change is one for strong, sensitive women to engage in, and is delightfully captured in Marge Piercy's poem *For strong women*.

A strong woman is a woman who is straining.
A strong woman is a woman standing
on tiptoe and lifting a barbell
while trying to sing Boris Godunov.
A strong woman is a woman at work
cleaning out the cesspool of the ages,
and while she shovels, she talks about
how she doesn't mind crying, it opens
the ducts of the eyes, and throwing up
develops the stomach muscles, and
she goes on shoveling with tears
in her nose.

A strong woman is a woman in whose head
a voice is repeating, I told you so,
ugly, bad girls, bitch, nag, shrill, witch,
ballbuster, nobody will ever love you back,
why aren't you feminine, why aren't
you soft, why aren't you quiet, why
aren't you dead?

A strong woman is a woman determined
to do something others are determined
not be done. She is pushing up on the bottom
of a lead coffin lid. She is trying to raise
a manhole cover with her head, she is trying
to butt her way through a steel wall.
Her head hurts. People waiting for the hole
to be made say, hurry, you're so strong.

A strong woman is a woman bleeding
inside. A strong woman is a woman making
herself strong every morning while her teeth
loosen and her back throbs. Every baby,
a tooth, midwives used to say, and now
every battle a scar. A strong woman
is a mass of scar tissue that aches
when it rains and wounds that bleed
when you bump them and memories that get up
in the night and pace in boots to and fro.

A strong woman is a woman who craves love
like oxygen or she turns blue choking.
A strong woman is a woman who loves
strongly and weeps strongly and is strongly
terrified and has strong needs. A strong woman is strong
in words, in action, in connection in feeling;
she is not strong as a stone but as a wolf
suckling her young. Strength is not in her, but she
enacts it as the wind fills a sail.

What comforts her is others loving
her equally for the strength and for the weakness
from which it issues, lightning from a cloud.
Lightning stuns. In rain, the clouds disperse.
Only water of connection remains,
flowing through us. Strong is what we make
each other. Until we are all strong together,
a strong woman is a woman strongly afraid.

Marge Piercy, *The Moon is Always Female*

THE IMPERATIVES FOR CHANGE

Ros Kelly

Introduction

This is the third conference that the Australian College of Education has conducted on women in educational management in Australia. The Australian College of Education is to be commended for organising this series of conferences and for the work it has done in raising debate about the issues relating to women in education. It is pleasing that the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority is co-operating with the College in sponsoring this particular conference which will concentrate on the needs of women to obtain management positions in primary and secondary education, both in schools and systems throughout Australia.

The serious imbalance that exists in the relative positions of women and men across the whole spectre of education in Australia is well known. It is enough to look at the statistics for school principals. While almost 60 per cent of teachers in Australia are women, 76 per cent of school principals are men. And rather than improving, this situation is tending to deteriorate as single-sex schools become coeducational and women principals are replaced by men.

Rectifying Inequalities

The first imperative for change then must be to rectify the obvious inequalities that exist in education systems and introduce measures to overcome them.

Many reasons have been put forward in the past to explain the enormous imbalance that exists between the number of women employed in our schools and the number that occupy senior administrative or management positions. The situation of men in the higher administrative posts and women in the lower sections of the hierarchy persists not only in the schools but in the school systems as well.

Women have been accused of not wanting promotion, not being as mobile as men and not being as qualified as men. Women teachers it has been said, have not sought promotion because of their outside family responsibilities and because they have regarded their husband's careers as more important.

While there may have been some elements of truth for some women in these allegations in the past, recent research, particularly that carried out by Dr Shirley Sampson, has shown that there is very little basis for these assumptions today. The structures and attitudes within the education organisation should be examined more closely, especially the tired old myths and attitudes about women's capabilities which have handicapped women across the full breadth of society.

Women are perceived as being subordinate and dependent with no administrative potential. Consequently their participation in the school system has been largely confined to the humanities and junior primary levels. Men, on the other hand, are seen as the leaders, the

administrators and the teachers of mathematics and science. As a result of these attitudes, when the out-of-classroom activities are allocated in schools, all too frequently the male teachers are given the administrative and organisational tasks and women are left with the caring and supportive roles.

This situation persists in spite of the fact that in schools with largely female staff, women have demonstrated their ability to perform competently the range of duties and tasks required in school organisation and administration. Their non-participation in those same activities when there are male teachers on the staff indicates some deliberate decision making and perceptions about the relative abilities of men and women teachers. The result of this selective allocation of tasks is that while women obviously have the ability to undertake administrative tasks, they are not given the opportunity to gain experience in this area and are therefore seriously hampered in the promotion stakes.

Women are also disadvantaged when seniority is a major consideration for promotion. Many women take breaks in their careers of up to ten years to devote themselves to child bearing and raising. Are these years of caring and relating to children and educating them outside the formal structures of no value?.

If we limit the opportunities for women in our systems and schools we are denying those systems and schools of a pool of talent which could be tapped to make the best use of the human resources available to them. Our second imperative must be to encourage organisations to utilise all the human resources available to them in an efficient and effective way.

Utilising Human Resources

The commonwealth government is committed to encouraging policies which enable women who wish to enter the labour force to participate fully in employment. In 1984, the government enacted the *Sex Discrimination Act*. In doing so it was recognised that, as important as anti-discrimination policies are, they cannot by themselves improve women's position in the labour market or totally open up a greater range of jobs to women. Nor can they ensure that women can compete on equal terms with men for promotion. For these reasons additional measures are required to enable women to improve their labour market prospects.

In June 1984 the Prime Minister tabled in Parliament a policy discussion paper on affirmative action for women. One of the proposals arising from this paper was the setting up of the *Affirmative Action Pilot Program* involving twenty-eight of Australia's leading private sector companies and three higher education institutions. There have been at least two outcomes of the pilot program, which are relevant for this conference.

Firstly, the pilot has produced tangible results in terms of revised recruitment advertising which encourages girls and women to apply for the full range of jobs available. Already some companies are reporting more applications from women. Data bases have been established by individual organisations to identify women's current

position in their labour force and personnel policies and practices have been reviewed to eliminate any discriminatory practices. Career counselling and special training programs for women have been established or extended. Women's networks have developed and will maintain the momentum created by the pilot program. As well unions are beginning to take a more active role both within their own organisations and in preparing their members for an active role with employers on affirmative action issues. These are all real improvements for women workers.

Secondly, the pilot program was essentially a matter of accelerating labour market processes. Changes which have occurred in patterns of women's employment have been far too slow. These organisations accelerated their activities and at their final meeting in Canberra on 28 June 1985 they called on the education sector to accelerate its activities - to play its role in equipping and encouraging girls to apply for the non-traditional jobs now open to them - to challenge more vigorously the concept of women's jobs and men's jobs.

Each sector has had the excuse that the other was not initiating change; the schools blaming the employers and the employers blaming the schools. And we cannot deny that our education system is responsible for many of the attitudes that permeate our society. It may not have initiated them but it has certainly reinforced the *status quo* rather than been an agent of reform.

Australia can only be enhanced by providing the groups within society with the opportunity to work to their full abilities and extend their capabilities. The third imperative for change must be to improve Australia as a place to live and work by acknowledging the skills and abilities of all the components of its population. A society which is stratified and role-confined is restricted in its ability to be dynamic and forward thinking. This is particularly important in the education system which plays such a significant role in framing the values and attitudes of young people.

Acknowledging Skills and Abilities

The fact that women are substantially under-represented in executive positions in schools has farreaching consequences for boys' and girls' attitudes. Teachers provide models of sex-appropriate behaviour for their students. What has happened in the past is that young women aspired to be classroom teachers and no more because that was the female role in education with which they were most familiar. Mathematics and science teachers tended to be male and so reinforced the idea that these subjects were not female ones.

Girls' aspirations and choices have been shown to be closely related to messages in the media and school materials and in traditional school arrangements. School curricula have tended to reinforce girls' perceptions of themselves as subordinates to, and less competent than, boys and their values and opinions as less important than those of males. A non-sexist approach should permeate the whole curriculum with emphasis on skills and understanding which are valuable to both girls and boys. Influences which limit girls'

potential also limit their ability to contribute to the life of the nation.

Government Action

The commonwealth government has taken a number of initiatives to diversify and expand girls' educational skills and experiences. It recognises that this is essential to increasing the numbers of qualified women able to take advantage of affirmative action programs in employment.

Since becoming Minister for Education, Senator Susan Ryan has taken steps to ensure that the needs of women and girls have been catered for under all the commonwealth's programs in education at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. She has requested that all portfolio agencies include the names of women in panels of names of persons submitted for her consideration for appointments within the portfolio. This has resulted in a significant increase in the number of women appointed to the education commissions and other senior appointments, including the secretary of her department, since 1983.

The ACT Situation

The ACT Schools Authority endorsed an Equal Opportunity Policy in September 1984. This policy gives a commitment to non-discriminatory policies and practices as well as undertaking to monitor the effects of these and to introduce affirmative action programs.

However, in the ACT there are particular problems promoting women to promotional positions in our school system because of the size of the system.

When the ACT school system was first created with additional Band 3 positions, those with Band 2 qualifications had the opportunity to move quickly. Also some teachers stayed with the New South Wales system and many Band 4 positions became vacant. However, most of the people appointed in 1974 are still in those positions and most are men. In fact, these days there is very little movement in the system. Many women have Band 3 eligibility but there are no positions for them to move to.

An example, is a friend of mine: she has had 25 years teaching experience and in 1974 was a Band 2 when the change occurred. In 1977 she was an acting Band 3 but in 1985 is still a Band 2. She has applied for five Band 3 positions and has had two on higher duties (Acting Band 3) but still no substantive position.

This is a fundamental problem which must be addressed if women are to obtain equality in our school system and the question must be addressed because the character of each school in the ACT is very much determined by the principals of the school. That is not to say that all male principals are incompetent, rather that there should be role models for women in schools and colleges in the top positions and opportunities for good women teachers to get through the system.

Conclusion

In this conference one of the issues which should be examined is the question of establishing all-girl classes in mathematics and science. Overseas research has indicated that even with teachers most sensitive to the needs of girls, the majority of face-to-face teachers' time in mixed classes goes to the demanding boys, especially at the high school level.

This conference provides the opportunity to explore the initiatives that each state and territory has been undertaking and to clarify ideas about what progress has been made, what more can be done and how it can best be done. The results will be of considerable interest to the commonwealth government.

THE CURRENT SITUATION FOR WOMEN IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

WOMEN TEACHERS AND PROMOTION: A SEARCH FOR SOME EXPLANATIONS

Shirley Sampson

Introduction

During third term 1984 with the help of all teacher unions affiliated with the Australian Teachers' Federation, and with financial assistance from Monash University, a questionnaire was sent to a 3 per cent sample of union members in schools in each state and territory. Its purpose was to seek information from women and men concerning experiences, motivations and activities related to promotion within the public teaching services in which they worked. Without follow-up contact replies were received from 2,380 teachers a response rate of 55 per cent of whom 61 per cent were female and 39 per cent male. This paper reports findings from that study.

Survey Response

Teachers who replied to the questionnaire used in this study clearly were those who were concerned or involved in issues to do with promotion and no further effort was made to secure a larger sample. This group may not be adequately representative of those women and men for whom promotion is entirely irrelevant but they represent an adequate sample of teacher union members from every state as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

SURVEY RESPONSES FROM EACH STATE

	Questionnaires Sent as a percentage	Replies Received as a percentage
New South Wales	28.57	29.91
Northern Territory	1.29	1.38
Australian Capital Territory	2.07	2.47
Victoria	29.71	29.53
South Australia	8.57	8.40
Western Australia	8.20	10.97
Queensland	15.14	13.15
Tasmania	3.71	4.20
Total sample:	100 per cent = 140,000	100 per cent = 2,380

Evidence from all states in Australia shows that women teachers are still at, or close to, the bottom of all education employment hierarchies. Since this is their situation and since so many legal barriers have been removed which previously blocked their upward career paths, it could be expected that there would now be large numbers of talented women applying for promotion. This is not the case.

Whereas 46 per cent of male respondents in this study had applied for promotion in the last five years, only 24 per cent of women had done so. Of these, over 50 per cent were between the ages of 30 and 39 years, in fact over 70 per cent were under the age of 40. Thus it is younger women who now form the bulk of applicants.

More teachers (37 per cent female and 48 per cent male) had applied for promotion within the school in which they were teaching. While such within-school appointments could be used as valuable experience they are generally not permanent and would not secure a footing on the career hierarchy of any departmental workforce.

In this survey a minority of respondents clearly rejected the idea of promotion altogether (about 9 per cent) but among those who expected to reach a higher level in the future women aspired less highly than men. Forty-two per cent expected to remain as class teachers compared with 15 per cent of men. Thirty-two per cent of women and 31 per cent of men aimed to become senior mistress or master but 44 per cent of men and only 17 per cent of women sought principalships or work as a central or regional office administrator.

Reponses reported here show that a much smaller proportion of women than men are seeking promotion of any kind and reasons were sought to explain this sex difference. Respondents were asked to describe the importance to them of a number of reasons commonly given for seeking or not seeking promotion.

Reasons for Seeking Promotion

On matters related to their professional lives, men and women showed somewhat similar levels of motivation. The challenge of more responsibility and the opportunity to influence the system, the organisation of schools or the curriculum were important or very important to over 60 per cent of all female and male respondents and the differences in responses of each sex were small and not significant (ns).

A slightly greater proportion of female than male respondents (44 per cent female and 39 per cent male, ns) were interested in promotion because they were dissatisfied with their present position or because they wanted a change of subject or particular responsibility (52 per cent female and 49 per cent male, ns). Much more important was resistance by women to getting right out of the classroom as 63 per cent (of 46 per cent men) said that an important reason for not applying for promotion was that they would have less teaching

time with pupils ($p<0.001$)[1]. So, although more than half of all women seek responsibility or a change in their present position they do not want to lose touch with their students. This finding could well explain some of women's reluctance to apply for promotion compared with men, for whom this was not such an important factor.

Financial reward. Salary is a more important influence for men than women both as a reason for applying for promotion (71 per cent male and 62 per cent female) and as a reason for not applying. Sixty per cent male and 48 per cent female named 'lack of financial incentive' as important or very important. Sex differences were significant for all responses but most significant among those indicating that an increase in salary was a very important reason for seeking promotion (31 per cent male and 21 per cent female, $p<0.001$). Despite these findings it is obvious that a majority of women teachers are interested in salary as a reason for promotion (62 per cent) thus, this factor does not explain why they are not applying as often as men.

Family related reasons for not seeking promotion. Much greater differences between men's and women's motivation towards promotion emerged when family related factors were considered. Although more men had children living in the same household (62 per cent male but only 38 per cent female) women were much more likely to be solely responsible for a child for more than four hours per day(65 per cent of women who had children living in the household compared with 28 per cent of men, $p<0.0001$). Also, although there were 62 per cent of women who had no children living in the household, women teachers across all age groups did much more housework of various kinds than men (88 per cent female and 65 per cent male performed three or more tasks for themselves as well as others, $p<0.001$).

The second shift. In line with these family responsibilities, women, far more often than men, named as reasons for not seeking promotion that they felt unable to cope with the extra demands and responsibilities (37 per cent female and 20 per cent male, $p<0.0001$); that they were reluctant to devote the necesseary time to extra responsibilities (56 per cent female and 39 per cent male, $p<0.0001$); that they perceived a conflict of after-school commitments and domestic responsibilities (63 per cent female and 52 per cent male, $p<0.01$). Clearly these factors illustrate a most important reason why many women do not seek promotion. If it is important to incorporate women's as well as men's experience into decision making within our schools and systems the burden of women's family responsibilities must be faced squarely. Women's family ties have also been used to explain their reluctance to apply widely for more senior positions and may help to explain why more women are applying for positions within schools than for promotion generally.

Certainly women, more often than men, gave their partner's career as an important reason for their unwillingness to seek promotion (54 per

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1. All statistical tests of significance used in this paper are chi-squared tests.

cent female and 40 per cent male, $p<0.001$). However, when asked whether their own career was less, equally or more important to the household than their partner's, 61 per cent of women replied that their own career was equally or more important (these responses were given by 67 per cent of men).

Mobility for promotion. In addition, 38 per cent of women (though more men, as might be expected, 55 per cent) replied that they would be prepared to take a job which necessitated moving and a change of job for their partner.

From findings such as these it can hardly be alleged that large numbers of women are not taking their careers seriously. This factor (lack of mobility) is no longer quite such an important factor as it may have been in times past for women. Men's careers, too, are now influenced by that of their partner. Forty per cent of male respondents named their partner's career as equally important and 45 per cent replied that they would not take an appointment which meant a change of job for their spouse.

Men are not so mobile now. These findings help to explain a rather unexpected finding indicating men's reduced mobility. Evidence from the questionnaire showed that of men who had applied for promotion in the last five years, 89 per cent had applied for less than five positions (compared with 95 per cent of women). It is still true that a greater proportion of men were more mobile than women, for 6.6 per cent of men had applied for twenty or more positions within 5 years (compared with only 2 per cent of women). Nevertheless, a large number of men now appear to be less than completely mobile. Current sex differences in mobility cannot explain the present position of women relative to men in educational hierarchies, though they may explain past patterns of promotion.

In reviewing these findings on the influence of family factors on promotion it is obvious that more women are affected by these responsibilities than men. In the past this issue has been shelved by educational system authorities as the individual's responsibility. But it is not for women alone to face unpalatable choices between work and family tasks. If society as a whole is convinced that women, who comprise nearly 60 per cent of all teachers, have a wealth of commitment and experience to contribute to the effective organisation of schooling, it behoves administrators themselves to examine critically the male advantage derived from present forms of organisation (or lack of it as in the case, for example, of child care provision and job sharing). Also to be examined are the assumptions inherent in the present arrangements about men's lack of involvement with their own families. Are such men the best administrators for schools and schooling systems?

Other reasons

Finally, among the reasons given by individual men and women for not applying for promotion were two which require much more extensive investigation because they were so highly significant or so widely supported. The first relates to women's perception that they lacked experience, a reason advanced for not seeking promotion by 45 per cent

of women compared with only 28 per cent of men($p<0.0001$). The second concerns perceptions of discrimination on likely outcomes of promotion applications and will be discussed in a following section.

Women's Qualifications and Experience

In order to investigate whether it is a fact that women teachers lack experience in relation to men, a number of findings which were intended to explore evidence of equal competence will now be presented. In this research, questions were asked concerning sex differences in initial and further qualifications, in-service involvement, early experiences of organisational/administrative tasks as beginning teachers, familiarity with a range of leadership tasks, as well as perceptions of support or lack of it from significant others, including those at home and in the school system.

Qualifications

Women are not initially less qualified than men to enter teaching, in fact many more women than men proportionally had three years or more of training (73 per cent female and 64 per cent male, $p<0.01$). In addition, 32 per cent of women and 33 per cent of men had degrees or degrees with diplomas at the start of their teaching careers.

It is in improving their qualifications that men secured some advantage. Not only had they increased their initial qualifications more frequently (62 per cent male and 53 per cent female, $p<0.01$) but also they had done so at a more advanced level. Seventeen per cent of men gaining qualifications after entry to teaching had obtained a second or higher degree compared with only 10 per cent of women and this was a highly significant sex difference ($p<0.0001$).

It cannot be argued that pieces of paper automatically improve the quality of teaching or administrative capacity or practice but mere possession of further qualifications indicates effort to continue learning and to update skills. This must remain a significant factor in any promotion system based on merit. However, data from this study show that over half of all female teachers have added further qualifications since entering the service so that many more women than now do so could apply for promotion equally on this basis with men. The fact that more women do not apply is an indication of their understanding that qualifications are not the only essential prerequisites for the upwardly mobile teacher in state education systems.

Inservice activities

The question of administrative studies was not asked in relation to gaining further qualifications. But specific information was sought about participation in and the types of inservice activities in which teachers had been involved. Men undertook more of this re-training (80 per cent male, 74 per cent female) and were significantly more likely to have had two days or more of such activity in areas related to administration (alone or in combination with other topics) such as running a department, training for senior management or timetabling (33 per cent male compared with 18 per cent female, $p<0.0001$). Women were more involved than men in curriculum and

pastoral care activities but these differences were not as significant. Predictably, perhaps, in view of common stereotypes, of those taking part in inservice men were significantly more involved with computer activities (31 per cent of men compared with only 22 per cent of women, $p<0.01$).

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN INSERVICE ACTIVITIES

Type of activity[2]	Percentage of those doing any inservice activity who were	
	Females as a percentage	Males as a percentage
Administration	17.8	33.1
Pastoral Care	35.5	30.5
Computers	22.1	30.7
Curriculum	79.3	74.4
Other (TUTA)	.46	.26
Total No. of Persons	1073	744
percentage of all respondents (by sex) who had undertaken inservice in last 5 years	73.8	80.1

The sex differences in participation and type of inservice activity undertaken by women and men may hypothetically be an indication of either the cause or the result of the position in the promotional hierarchy of each sex. Women may not be interested in administrative inservice or they may be prevented from attending an inservice activity of their choice more often than men since fewer of them are in control within schools. In this study, only 7 per cent of female respondents (3 per cent of males) gave 'opposition of a superior' as their reason for being unable to undertake such activity. Women much more often than men were prevented from attending by reason of family commitments (13 per cent female and 3 per cent male, $p<0.001$).

More women indicated that they had wanted to attend some form of inservice (33 per cent female and 23 per cent male) but had been unable to do so for reasons such as those above as well as distance, residential requirements, teaching commitments and lack of relief.

An overview of inservice participation as an indicator of training or preparation for promotion into administrative levels of the education system reveals one further reason why women might not apply for promotion as often as men; they appear to undertake less training

2. 1817 respondents had undertaken two days or more of inservice training in the last five years, however many had been involved in more than one type of activity.

for administrative posts. This may be the consequence of *post hoc* training - that is, the people who are trained at administration inservice activities have already been appointed as administrators of one kind or another. Alternatively it may be that women do not choose to undertake such activities or that they do not receive notice of them or that they are not often encouraged to attend. This research did not provide evidence which would enable a more definitive analysis to be undertaken. However, some indication of past departmental practices encouraging women into administration can be gauged from the following section relating to sex differences in tasks allocated to beginning teachers.

Apprenticeship experiences

Teachers were asked whether in their first five years of teaching they had ever been allocated organisational or administrative tasks of any kind. Only 57 per cent of females replied in the affirmative compared with 73 per cent of males ($p<0.0001$). When the nature of these tasks was examined, clear differences in 'apprenticeship' experiences were revealed. It was found that these women teachers, far more often than the men had been allocated work to do with children or teaching and the library. This research revealed that of all respondents 61 per cent of male teachers had experience of organisational or administrative tasks in their first five years of teaching compared with only 45 per cent of women teachers ($p<0.0001$). It is clear that an important factor in women teachers' reluctance to apply for promotion compared with men could be firstly, lack of early apprenticeship to organisational or administrative tasks and secondly, the resulting legitimation of stereotyped perceptions concerning appropriate roles for women and men in schools. This was a process which continued long after the first years of teaching, as other evidence showed.

As every teacher is aware, there are multitudes of tasks within schools which are shared around among staff, more or less often. Even though many teachers have senior appointments entitling them to perform up-front or leadership tasks, assistant level staff are asked to carry out these duties from time to time. A selection of experiences of this kind were listed in this study and teachers were asked whether they had ever carried out such duties and whether the task had been by choice or by allocation.

It is apparent from findings presented in Table 3 that women have had fewer opportunities than men to try themselves at any of these every day organisational activities. Those who had performed such tasks had also been allocated these duties by others within the school less often than men.task had been by choice or by allocation.

TABLE 3

SCHOOL TASKS EVER PERFORMED

Q. Have you ever taken major responsibility for any of the following tasks in schools in which you have taught? Where response is Yes, was this by choice or allocation?

Task	% Yes Female (n=1234)	Task allocated	% Yes Male (n=829)	Task allocated	Level of significance
Organisation of major school activities such as sports/open days, parents nights	61.6	19.9	78.2	22.8	p<0.0001
Arrangement of student camps or travel	59.2	9.7	81.7	15.3	p<0.0001
Leading school inservice activity	37.6	12.3	60.9	15.9	p<0.0001
Leading/convening committee on					
.course curriculum	31.8	11.8	58.0	17.7	p<0.0001
.student discipline	20.1	7.2	40.9	15.6	p<0.0001
.pastoral care	20.7	5.6	34.9	10.3	p<0.0001
Drawing-up timetable	29.8	13.8	50.5	21.0	p<0.0001
Running a school assembly	51.2	30.7	69.5	31.8	p<0.0001

When only responses from assistant level teachers are considered, a similar picture emerges. Assistant level men were significantly more likely to have performed all these tasks. Differences ranged from 18 per cent fewer women who had ever organised a student camp or travel to 4.5 per cent fewer who had ever convened a pastoral care committee (which was the smallest sex difference among these responses). If it is considered that some women who are at assistant level are likely to be highly experienced while a greater proportion of men are likely to be younger, considering men's present promotion rates, the sex differences in experience offered to this lowest level but most diverse group of teachers become even more blatantly one-sided.

Results reported here support earlier evidence that young women teachers are not asked to perform administrative tasks as often as young men, and that women are stereotyped as 'not administration material'. This was a comment frequently made by both men and women which will be discussed in a following section of this paper.

In concluding this discussion on experience therefore it must be accepted that when 45 per cent women gave 'lack of experience' as a reason for not applying for promotion, they may have been perfectly correct. When the proportion of women compared with men who have had the opportunity to try themselves out at administrative tasks is examined, it is clear that individual women would not often have the experience of seeing other women do well at such tasks, nor to try them for themselves to develop their own sense of competence by doing, as men do. This is an aspect of the findings of this study which clearly warrants consideration and action within departments of education, at conferences of principals and administrative staff, especially with regard to affirmative action programs.

Sense of Competence

For a majority of both women and men teachers, the feeling that they could do a senior job better than others was an important or very important reason for applying for promotion (53 per cent female and 60 per cent male, ns). Sex differences were significant only among those who saw this as a very important motivation (16 per cent female and 22 per cent male, $p<0.01$).

A related finding occurred in response to an attitude question asking whether respondents felt they were excellent, as good as the general run, not particularly good or did not know how to rate themselves on performance of administrative tasks in schools. Twenty-five per cent of males rated themselves as 'excellent' compared with 18 per cent of females ($p<0.001$).

These exercises in self assessment in comparison with others reveal commonly found sex differences in estimation (Macoby and Jacklin, 1974). However, in view of the evidence given above concerning actual experiences allowed to them, women's sense of competence must be seen as not far below that of men.

Perceptions of encouragement

> Throughout their lives women do not receive the kind of social 'messages' which men do, encouraging them to aspire to the top, in particular to managing or controlling other people, or that it is appropriate for them to be leaders of people. Many images relating to outstanding women are negative or threatening ones (Horner, 1969; Leder, 1984).

Respondents were asked whether certain officers with whom they would have had contact in schools had ever invited or encouraged them

to apply for promotion. Sex differences were highly significant. Inspectors, superintendents or other departmental officers had encouraged 36 per cent of males to apply for promotion compared with only 21 per cent of women ($p<0.0001$). Principals who must be more personally familiar with women teachers' competence did encourage females rather more often than their departmental superiors but even so, men got this message more frequently than women. Forty two per cent of women reported the encouragement of their head or principal, but so did 50 per cent of men ($p<0.001$).

Equal proportions of females and males reported that their immediate superiors at school had invited or encouraged them to apply for promotion but men reported more often than women that their spouse had done so, 42 per cent of males and 35 per cent of females $p<0.01$. In addition, 98 per cent of males compared with 90 per cent of females believed they had support of males on the staff in performing school organisational tasks. Thus the social perception that leadership or decision making in administration was appropriate for males was confirmed by significant others for men teachers. The question was not asked as to perceptions of discouragement for either sex. However, it is clear from these responses that men teachers receive personal affirmation more often than do their female counterparts to apply for promotion in the teaching service.

It is not surprising that as reported in an earlier section men teachers gave 'superior competence' as a reason for wanting to do a more senior job. They are more often encouraged to believe that they *can* do it. In the view of this researcher, the really surprising finding, in the light of this lower incidence of encouragement, is that so many women, over half of all women respondents (53 per cent), believed that they could do a senior job better than others.

Perceptions of Discrimination

Respondents were asked whether they thought women were discriminated against in promotion, either explicitly or implicitly, in the system in which they worked and to give reasons for their response. Fifty-four per cent of women and 24 per cent of men replied in the affirmative, and of those who gave either response ($n=2,286$), 62 per cent wrote reasons in support of their reply (889 females and 526 males). There were striking differences among states in the proportions of women and men who did or did not believe that women were discriminated against (see Table 4). On the other hand, those who gave either an affirmative or a negative reply to the question wrote open ended replies, some of considerable length, which indicated a large area of agreement between the sexes. A single person, the researcher, coded all responses to this question.

TABLE 4

WOMEN ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN PROMOTION

	NSW		NT		ACT		Vic		SA		WA		Qld		Tas		Total %	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
Yes	52.8	25.5	38.1	20.0	68.4	33.3	49.9	25.2	54.7	15.3	61.9	27.3	64.0	27.4	50.8	10.3	54.4	24.1
No	47.2	74.5	61.9	80.0	31.6	66.7	50.1	74.8	15.0	85.0	38.1	72.7	36.0	72.6	49.2	89.7	45.6	75.9
Total	528	157	21	10	38	21	371	306	75	113	118	132	175	124	59	39	1385	901

Yes, women are discriminated against in promotion

The reason most often advanced by men for this belief was that women are not perceived by men as having administrative potential (30 per cent of males) and secondly that men run the schools (29 per cent of males). Women thought so too: 37 per cent suggested the latter reason and 31 per cent the former and these were the first and third most important reasons advanced by women for their belief. The second most often advanced reason for women (36 per cent females) and the fourth most important for men (25 per cent males) was that males are prejudiced against females. Thus there appears to be a quite surprising unanimity in the importance of these factors among female and male teachers who perceived discrimination.

Both sexes were also in substantial agreement about the influence of women's dual role, which confirms findings reported earlier in this study. That women have to look after their families or husbands was suggested in explanation by 27 per cent of women and 23 per cent of men, indicating that these duties are now seen as either handicapping women or advantaging men in a discriminatory fashion. Combined with the fact that women take a break in service which undercuts advancement in systems where seniority is the most important factor in promotion, family related reasons were next in importance after those suggesting male-specific factors such as prejudice, stereotyping or the exercise of power.

Both men and women (27 per cent males and 20 per cent females) still saw departmental regulations as an important factor, despite changes in most states. It was the most, or second most, important reason advanced by South Australian and West Australian women and men and the least important for teachers in Tasmania and the territories.

Another important group of reasons advanced by both sexes supports a finding of this study relating to women's lack of administrative experience. The study shows that women are not given the chance to get experience (12 per cent females and 7 per cent males) or are not encouraged to apply for promotion (7 per cent females and 9 per cent males) and were less frequently advanced. But it suggests that both sexes had noticed the common distribution of tasks within their schools and considered it discriminatory.

Ten per cent of women and 11 per cent of men also suggested that women are discriminated against because they lack confidence and do

not apply for promotion. But this tends to blame the victim rather than to explain why the system discriminates. Such ambivalence was more often a feature of explanations suggested by those who did not believe there was discrimination.

No, women are not discriminated against in promotion

Over 45 per cent of men and 47 per cent of women who gave reasons why women are not discriminated against believed that the regulations were fair and equal. A further 27 per cent (men) and 25 per cent (women) of these respondents asserted that there was evidence to prove that there was no discrimination. Another common assertion (13 per cent males and 25 per cent females) was that they personally had never seen or were unaware of any discrimination.

Another set of explanations tended to excuse rather than explain. Twenty per cent of women and 10 per cent of men suggested that women were disadvantaged by their family ties or by the consequences of past discrimination (17 per cent females and 16 per cent male).

Other suggestions were more sexist and concerned stereotyped characteristics such as that women do not want promotion or do not try (20 per cent females and 17 per cent males), that they are incompetent or cannot do the job (7 per cent females and 3 per cent males) or in the extreme, that males are biologically superior and women inferior (2 per cent females and 6 per cent males).

A final reason, but one which was second in importance among men responding in the negative (38 per cent males and 11 per cent females) was that it was not women but men who were discriminated against. It was clear, from the kind of replies giving this and the last reported suggestions, that hostility and resentment of moves to advance women were very close to the surface for some male teachers.

Conclusion

This study has found evidence supporting the rationale advanced by many women that they lack the experience to seek promotion to administrative ranks. Tasks which are often distributed by principals and senior staff are quite unequally allocated to men. School affirmative action plans would clearly make a start at improving this situation.

Although 62 per cent of women teachers have no children living in their homes, family related factors have been found to be important handicaps to women who would seek promotion. This is important especially as it is now younger women in their thirties (that is, with younger children) who comprise a great proportion of applicants for promotion. Teacher unions for many years have argued for changes to remove some of these barriers. A more concerted attack within departments of education might now produce consensus and real action towards key advances necessary to lessen the weight of such disadvantages which are borne almost wholly by women.

Where there remain perceptions of discrimination effort is clearly necessary to publicise and advocate more obviously, signs of equality within promotion systems where they exist. The facts should be published so that teachers know that there is more than token representation of women on interview panels. The appointment of women to many more decision-making committees or posts should be sought and examination of the implementation of promotion criteria and procedures should be undertaken.

This study has provided substantial evidence of the importance of a small number of factors which are retarding women's advancement in the promotion stakes. In line with major Australian companies and commonwealth and state public services, departments of education must address the problems described in order to find ways of increasing the numbers of women in positions of responsibility within their ranks.

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WOMEN PRINCIPALS IN AUSTRALIA

Judith Chapman

> The woman who is resolved to be respected can
> make herself so, even amidst an army of soldiers.
> (Cervantes)

Introduction

In 1983 two major studies were undertaken in relation to Australian school principals: *A Descriptive Profile of Australian School Principals and The Selection and Appointment of Australian School Principals.* These studies, funded as part of the Commonwealth Schools Commission's Projects of National Significance Program, provide important benchmark data on the personal and professional characteristics of principals and detailed information on the procedures adopted in principal selection. As such they provide the starting point for this paper.

The Woman Principal

Data collected in the preparation of *A Descriptive Profile of Australian School Principals* revealed the following:

- Twenty-three per cent of Australian school principals are women.

- Only in Catholic primary schools are women more likely than men to be principals (63 per cent female). But the majority of these women are serving as principals in their capacity as members of religious orders. Moreover, female principals of Catholic schools are more likely than their male colleagues to be over 45 years of age.

- Relative to other groups, women are least likely to be principals of government schools. Throughout Australia, women constitute only 15 per cent of principals in government primary schools, 9 per cent of principals in government secondary schools and 7 per cent of principals in government schools combining both primary and secondary levels.

- In independent schools women constitute 29 per cent of principals in primary schools, 20 per cent of principals in secondary schools and 35 per cent of principals in schools combining both primary and secondary levels.

The subsequent three sections present a more detailed profile of the woman principal in the three major sectors of school organisation in Australia: government, Catholic and independent.

Profile of the Female Principal of a Government School

The female principal of an Australian government school is likely to be in her mid forties, Australian born (89 per cent) and raised in a capital city, 32 per cent (other city 10 per cent, town 28 per cent or rural community 31 per cent). Her mother, after having completed, on average, nine years of formal education is likely to have been employed exclusively in home duties (71 per cent). Her father, after ten years of formal education, would have been employed in one of a range of occupations, most commonly, farming (20 per cent), profession (14 per cent), manager (9 per cent), draftsman/foreman (14 per cent), clerical worker (10 per cent), self employed (10 per cent). More often than not, the principal will be married (59 per cent) to a man employed most commonly in the professions (for example, teaching 36 per cent, architecture and law 12 per cent) or in farming (11 per cent). They will have on average, two children, who will have completed school and be undertaking tertiary study or be in full-time employment.

Her secondary education would have been completed at a government school (71 per cent) or in some instances a Catholic school (19 per cent) and her initial tertiary qualification received from a government teachers' college (76 per cent), a university (11 per cent), or college of advanced education (12 per cent). Her initial tertiary qualification is likely to have been a certificate (64 per cent), diploma (19 per cent) or bachelors degree (15 per cent). If not specialising in general primary curriculum she would have most commonly specialised in early childhood education (19 per cent or arts/social science/languages/humanities (12 per cent). These studies would have been undertaken fulltime, on campus, with financial support (88 per cent) in the form of a government scholarship or allowance (100 per cent). The courses taken would have been directly relevant to a career in education (95 per cent) and completed prior to the commencement of her teaching career (81 per cent).

The principal would have continued formal study after having completed her initial tertiary qualification and after having commenced teaching. Studies for her highest tertiary qualification, leading to the conferring of a degree (bachelors 37 per cent; masters 8 per cent) or a diploma (20 per cent) or certificate (20 per cent) would generally have been undertaken in a university (38 per cent), college of advanced education (28 per cent) or government teachers' college (24 per cent) in the fields of education (69 per cent) or in the disciplines - most commonly arts/social science/languages/ humanities (14 per cent). These studies would have been undertaken on (47 per cent) or off (43 per cent) campus, without financial assistance (64 per cent) or time release (80 per cent). The studies would have been directly relevant to her career in education (88 per cent). Prior to the completion of this qualification the principal is likely to have spent nine years or more in teaching/education.

The principal is unlikely to be currently undertaking further tertiary study. Those among her peers who are studying (18 per cent), however, are most likely to be reading for a bachelors (48 per cent or masters (22 per cent) degree.

In total the principal will on average hold two tertiary qualifications and have spent three years in full-time and four to five years in part-time study since leaving secondary school.

Prior to her first appointment as principal the female principal of a government school is likely to have been employed in four to five schools teaching general primary curriculum, english, mathematics, science or social science. In most instances, she will not have had experience as an acting or relieving principal prior to the appointment. Neither is she likely to have undertaken specific study in administration (approximately 70 per cent), either before or after having assumed the principal position. She is likely to have served as principal in only one or two schools.

Her current school is likely to be located in a capital city (36 per cent), (other city 11 per cent, town 14 per cent or rural community 39 per cent) and will be concerned with primary level only (81 per cent), secondary level only (9 per cent) or both primary and secondary levels (3 per cent). The pupil composition will almost certainly be co-educational (96 per cent).

The principal will spend 46 to 50 hours per week in the performance of her duties as principal. In most instances, she will also be involved in nine or more hours of timetabled teaching per week (66 per cent).

She will belong on average to three professional groups and subscribe to three professional journals. During the period 1980 to 1982 she is likely to have attended six or more local/regional conferences. In addition she may have attended two state conferences.

She is not likely to have been employed in a different school or school system (77 per cent) or have been employed in a field other than education (77 per cent).

Profile of the Female Principal of a Catholic School

The female principal of a Catholic school is likely to be 40 to 44 years of age, Australian born (86 per cent) and raised in a capital city 42 per cent (town 23 per cent or rural 28 per cent community). Her mother , after having completed on average nine years of formal education would probably have been employed exclusively in home duties (77 per cent). Her father, also after nine years of formal education, would have been employed in one of a range of occupations, most commonly farmer (18 per cent), clerical worker (11 per cent), craftsman/foreman (9 per cent), labourer (7 per cent). The principal will rarely be married. The few among her peers who are married (14 per cent) will have husbands employed most often as craftsman/foreman (22 per cent), managers (17 per cent) or professionals, for example teachers (17 per cent). These principals will have on average three children who in most instances will be currently in secondary school, tertiary education or full-time employment. Without exception the female principal of a Catholic school will be a regular churchgoer. In fact it is most likely that she will be a member of a religious order (78 per cent).

Her secondary education would have been completed in a Catholic single sex (82 per cent) or co-educational (14 per cent) school and her initial tertiary qualification received either from a non-government teachers' college (47 per cent), a government teachers' college (21 per cent) or university (12 per cent). Her initial tertiary qualification is likely to have been a certificate (45 per cent), diploma (36 per cent) or bachelors degree (16 per cent), specialising in general primary curriculum or if in the disciplines, most commonly in arts/social science/language/humanities (14 per cent). These studies would have been undertaken fulltime and on campus. During these studies she usually would not have received financial support (58 per cent). The courses taken would have been directly relevant to her career in education (97 per cent). While she is likely to have completed the qualification prior to commencing her teaching career (66 per cent), among her peers there will be a considerable number (34 per cent) who would have spent on average four years in teaching/education prior to their initial qualification being completed.

The principal would have continued formal studying after completing her initial tertiary qualification and after beginning teaching. Studies for her highest post-initial tertiary qualification, leading to the conferring of a bachelors (32 per cent) or masters (11 per cent) degree or a diploma (32 per cent) would have been undertaken at a university (43 per cent), a non-government teachers' college (21 per cent) or a college of advanced education (15 per cent). These studies would have been in the fields of education (49 per cent), or arts/social science/languages/humanities (16 per cent) or theology (11 per cent). In general the principal would have undertaken these studies on a part-time basis without financial support (77 per cent) or time release (68 per cent). Almost certainly the studies would have been relevant to her career in education (98 per cent). Prior to the completion of this qualification she is likely to have spent more than nine years in teaching/education.

Although the female principal of a Catholic school is not likely to be currently undertaking further tertiary study, a considerable number of her peers (33 per cent) will still be doing so. Such women will generally be studying for a bachelors (34 per cent), masters (13 per cent) or doctoral (3 per cent) degree or a diploma (24 per cent).

In total the principal on average will hold three tertiary qualifications and have spent three years in full-time and five to six years in part-time study since leaving secondary school.

Prior to her first appointment as a school principal the female principal of a Catholic school is likely to have been employed in four schools teaching general primary curriculum, theology, english, science, classical studies or mathematics. Prior to the appointment she will not have had experience as an acting or relieving principal (73 per cent) nor is she likely to have undertaken specific study in administration (76 per cent). After having assumed the principal position, however, such studies may have been undertaken (54 per cent). In most instances she is likely to have been a principal in two schools, with her first school differing only slightly from her present position in terms of size and location.

Her current school is likely to be located in a capital city (48 per cent), city (14 per cent), town (25 per cent) or rural community (12 per cent) and will be concerned with primary level only (78 per cent), secondary level only (17 per cent) or both primary and secondary levels (3 per cent). The student composition will be co-educational (80 per cent) or girls only (14 per cent). It is highly unlikely that boarding facilities will be available (95 per cent).

On average the principal will spend 46 to 50 hours in the performance of her duties as principal. She will also be involved in timetabled teaching (70 per cent) of eight hours or more per week.

She will belong to two to three professional associations and subscribe to three to four professional journals. During the period 1980 to 1982 she is likely to have attended six or more local/regional conferences/seminars/inservice activities. She may have attended two state conferences but it is extremely unlikely that she would have attended any such activity in the national or international arena.

The principal is not likely to have been employed in another type of school or school system (82 per cent) or in a field other than education (70 per cent).

Profile of the Female Principal of an Independent School

The female principal of an independent school is likely to be 45 to 49 years of age, Australian born (73 per cent) and city bred (67 per cent). Her mother, after nine years of formal education is likely to have been employed exclusively in home duties (67 per cent) or else been self employed (7 per cent) or employed in clerical occupations (10 per cent) or in the professions, for example teaching (7 per cent). Her father, after nine years of formal education, would have been employed in one of a range of occupations, most commonly being self employed (17 per cent) or employed as a craftsman/foreman (17 per cent), a professional, for example architect or lawyer (13 per cent), a manager (13 per cent) or clerical worker (13 per cent). The principal is unlikely to be married. In most instances she will have never married (43 per cent), although among her peers there will be some who are separated or divorced (16 per cent) or widowed (7 per cent). Among her married peers (33 per cent), the overwhelming majority (91 per cent) will be married to men in professional (for example teachers 55 per cent; architect, lawyers 18 per cent) or managerial (18 per cent) positions. They will have two to three children, most of whom will currently be undertaking tertiary study or be in full-time employment.

Her secondary education would have been completed at a government (53 per cent) or independent single sex (37 per cent) school and her initial tertiary qualification received from a university (50 per cent), government teachers' college (33 per cent) or college of advanced education (10 per cent). Her initial tertiary qualification is likely to have been a bachelors degree (pass - 33 per cent, honours - 10 per cent) or a diploma (30 per cent) or certificate (27 per cent) specialising in arts/social science/language/humanities (31 per cent), early childhood education (17 per cent), general primary curriculum (17 per cent) or mathematics/science (10 per cent). These studies would have been undertaken fulltime on campus with the aid of

financial assistance (80 per cent) generally in the form of a government scholarship or allowance. The courses taken would have been directly relevant to her career in education (83 per cent) and completed prior to the commencement of her teaching career (80 per cent).

The principal would have continued formal study after having completed her initial tertiary qualification and after having commenced teaching. Studies for her highest tertiary qualification, leading to the conferring of a bachelors (30 per cent), masters (17 per cent) or doctoral (4 per cent) degree, diploma (26 per cent) or graduate diploma (13 per cent) would have been undertaken at a university (48 per cent) or college of advanced education (30 per cent) in education (60 per cent) or if in the disciplines, most often in arts/social science/languages/humanities (17 per cent). These studies would have been undertaken on campus (78 per cent), without financial assistance (76 per cent) or time release (83 per cent). The studies would have been directly relevant to her career in education (91 per cent). Prior to the completion of this qualification she is likely to have spent nine years or more in teaching education.

It is unlikely that the principal is currently undertaking formal study, however her peers who may be doing so (21 per cent) would be studying for a bachelors (67 per cent) or doctoral (33 per cent) degree.

In total the principal, on average, will hold three tertiary qualifications and have spent three to four years in full-time and three years in part-time study since leaving secondary school.

Prior to her first appointment as principal the female principal of an independent school is likely to have been employed in four schools teaching general primary curriculum, english, mathematics, science, social science or classics. Rarely will she have had experience as an acting or relieving principal prior to the appointment (67 per cent). Neither is she likely to have undertaken specific study in administration (approximately 80 per cent) either before or after having assumed the principal position. In most instances she will have been a principal in only one school (86 per cent).

Her current school is likely to be located in a capital (50 per cent) or other city (23 per cent) and will be concerned with both primary and secondary levels (52 per cent), primary only (24 per cent) or secondary only (93 per cent).

The principal will spend on average 46 to 50 hours per week in the performance of her duties. In addition she will spend five hours or more of timetabled teaching each week.

She will belong to three professional associations and subscribe to three professional journals. During the period 1980 to 1982 she is likely to have attended three local or regional conferences/ seminars/inservice activities and two state conferences. In a few instances she would have attended a national conference. However it is extremely unlikely that she would have attended an international event.

In most instances the principal would not have been employed in a field other than education (75 per cent). However she may (44 per cent) have been employed in a different type of school or school system.

The Future for Women in the Principalship

The existing data on the proportion of women in the principalship is alarming. More disturbing however, may be the statistics of the future. In Catholic schools for example, with the retirement and withdrawal of female religious, young men are increasingly being appointed to principal positions. In independent schools with the amalgamation of boys and girls schools, men are being appointed almost exclusively to head the co-educational bodies. In government schools, with the trend towards greater community involvement in selection, a sizeable number of women are simply not applying for principal positions.

In this respect it is important to note the position in Victorian government schools. There, in an attempt to resolve the considerable tension between the centralised concern for consistency, economy and efficiency, which has characterised the traditional selection practices in government schools, with respect for localised, individual autonomy in the pluralist society of Australia in the 1980s, the education department has introduced school council involvement in the selection of principals and deputy principals. In the first three rounds of community involvement in selection in 1984 and 1985, of the total 946 applicants, only 86 applicants were women (9.1 per cent).

With the increasing trend in all systems towards greater community involvement in the selection of principals what is the situation for women likely to be? The results of research in the selection of school administrators in the United States (Baltzell and Dentler 1983), the United Kingdom (Morgan, Hall and McKay 1983) and Australia (Chapman 1985) are not encouraging.

Problems Confronting Women in Schools Where There is Community Involvement in the Selection of Principals

The nature of the selection process

In the selection process there is an element of 'intuition' or trust in one's judgment. But trust grows from experience. There are simply too few people on selection committees who have had experience with women in top administrative positions. At that critical point when selectors make their final judgment, 'intuitively' they are less likely to select the woman.

Given this, it is essential that the selection process be carefully planned, tightly structured and based on clearly articulated criteria and valid and reliable evidence. Everything must be done to reduce reliance on 'intuition' and 'gut reaction'.

Indeed, in the United States it has been found (Baltzell and Dentler 1983) that committees which do not have explicit, clearly articulated, performance-related criteria rely not only on 'intuition' but upon 'leadership images'. Unfortunately, members of the community do not have as many 'models' or 'images' of successful women principals.

With few 'images' of successful women, members of the selection committees tend to lack flexibility when assessing female applicants. Unless a woman fits a particular mould, she has few chances. There is little scope for 'difference'. A woman applying to an independent school in Australia for example was commended as having initiative, enterprise, and forward vision. It was said that she was 'unique' but as there was some doubt about the likelihood of her surviving the 'confines' of the school it was suggested that her appointment would be too great a 'risk'.

Yet while it is clearly unwise to be perceived as too unconventional, women principals cannot afford to be seen as too 'desirable'. In conservative communities in particular, women aspirants to the principalship face the barriers associated with sexual jealousy, and common gossip. In one Victorian country town, a woman applicant was told informally that as a single, attractive woman in her early 40s she would not be successful gaining appointment as principal in the local government school, not merely because of male attitudes (all members of the committee were male) but because women in the locality were 'suspicious' of her.

The chairman of the board of an independent girls' school confirmed the 'sexual factor' as a problem. As a prominent citizen and solicitor he indicated that he could not afford the gossip which may occur if a woman was appointed head. He liked to interact with the principal in informal settings and with a male principal he 'could talk about school council business...over a glass of ale without engendering gossip or innuendo'.

It is apparent throughout Australia, that men constitute the majority of councillors in government and non-government schools and they do feel that the real business of running a school can only be done between men. A woman applying for the principal position in a government school was told: 'Men simply cannot get down to the *nitty gritty* of running a school with a woman'.

Attitudes of women

In speaking to women throughout Australia there is no doubt that many women underestimate their worth and their suitability for senior administrative positions. Women speak of not applying for positions because they do not believe they 'deserve' them. Emphasis is placed on the importance of 'credibility'. In many respects these attitudes reflect a sense of powerlessness and 'distance' from the real sources of power. Clearly women have high expectations of senior positions

and of themselves in those positions. Perhaps more time working senior administrators as interns or in acting positions would give women a more realistic picture of the demands of a role and of the 'match' between their own competencies and those required by the role incumbent. As a result women may be less overawed by positions and less harsh in judging their own suitability and worth.

The changing nature of the principalship

In government schools, especially in Victoria, increased decentralisation and devolution has brought a new conception of the principalship and new bases for the principal's power. No longer can the principal rely on the legal authority associated with a bureaucratic position within the department. While this change in the power base affects both male and female principals some women feel that they have suffered most from the change.

Such women feel particularly disadvantaged in respect to building 'informal' power bases in the wider educational community. One very experienced and successful principal in a Victorian government school indicated that she would not apply for another school under the new arrangements (although she may have done so in the past) because she simply did not have that extra energy required to establish herself, not only with staff and students, but with the community as well: 'I just do not want to have to keep putting out so much energy'.

There is no doubt that it is more difficult for women to establish themselves in the community. Women have traditionally not been active in those areas of public or community life from which many of the schools' influentials are drawn, for example, Rotary, Apex sporting clubs. It is particularly difficult for those married women who, even in the society of the 1980s, simply do not have the additional time for public/community activities, given their responsibilities in the home.

Recommendations for Improving the Selection Process to Enhance the Opportunities for Women

Research on school administrator selection in the United States (Baltzell and Dentler 1983), the United Kingdom (Morgan, Hall and McKay 1983) and Australia (Chapman 1984, 1985) reveals that to achieve equity, the entire selection process must be continually monitored to ensure that none of the procedures adopted are potentially discriminatory. In particular, the following strategies should be implemented.

Announcing the vacancy and informing potential applicants

Every attempt should be made to ensure that there is a sizeable proportion of women in the applicant pool. However, women do not have access to the informal channels of communication which are widely available to men. Women do not get to know informally the 'unspoken' needs of the school. It is the responsibility of all women who are now beginning to assume more senior positions, to use the formal and informal channels that do exist to inform women of vacancies and to encourage them to apply. Informal or 'insider' knowledge will be of particular assistance to female applicants in the preparation of

applications which highlight the 'match' between their experience, personal qualities, knowledge and professional 'skills',and the specific requirements of the school. Experience in the United States (Baltzell and Dentler 1983) reveals that women will create and communicate through networks of their own devising if there is an understanding that schools or school districts are seriously determined to act affirmatively.

Ensuring representation of women among membership of the selection committee

Much has been written about the importance of having women among the panel of selectors. This may be difficult to monitor at the local level where members of the selection committees are elected or nominated by their constituents especially as most school communities see fit to elect a majority of men to their school councils. But in systemic schools achieving some balance in gender representation should be made a responsibility of the system. As well as contributing to effective selection practices in Victoria, those women who have served as the director-general's nominees on selection committees have found the experience extremely beneficial in familiarising them with the process of selection which in turn has assisted them when they have been applicants in the selection process.

The first meeting of the selection committee

Before actually embarking on the process of screening applicants, it is imperative that a committee raise and discuss any issues about which members may hold particular biases and prejudices. This is especially important in respect to the attitudes of committee members towards women. Those responsible for maintaining the integrity of the selection process and ensuring the equal treatment of all candidates should see this as a fundamental part of their role.

Some questions which may lay the basis for discussion at the first meeting would include:

- Do selectors have any objections to appointing a woman?
- Do selectors believe that appointing a woman would be a greater risk than appointing a man?
- Do selectors hold any particular views about women's ability to discipline boys, to stand up to pressure, to work effectively with others?

Such issues, faced openly and directly at the beginning of the process, should in part reduce the possibility of the subtle, negative biases penetrating the committee's deliberation at later stages.

Identification of criteria

Selection criteria must be reviewed to ensure that there are no barriers to discriminate against women. A school which has conducted a thorough needs assessment leading to a detailed school profile and position analysis is less likely to derive criteria which are vague, inconsistent, unrelated to performance, or heavily dependent on

'leadership images'. Thorough preparation and planning by the school's governing body is thus an essential pre-requisite for fair and equitable selection.

Consideration of evidence

The chairperson of the selection committee must constantly challenge selectors to ensure that they are not making different inferences about the information received from women as compared with that received from men. In particular, are the same assumptions being made for both sexes in respect to personal and professional priorities, domestic responsibilities, ability to supervise and maintain discipline, and ability to administer a co-educational school?

Conducting the interview

At the interview stage selectors must be confronted with the fact that they are likely to have more 'models' of men as heads and many more 'images' of successful male principals than they will have 'images' of successful females. Thorough consideration of each female applicant and stress upon flexibility in the assessment of women mut be built into the process.

Similarly, the chairperson must alert selectors to the differences in personal style among men and women. The less assertive style of women and the tendency to attribute success to the product of circumstances or the contributions of others must not be misinterpreted.

Needless to say members of the selection committee should be cautious in the questions they ask. For example, if information about availability is required, all applicants, both male and female, should be asked:

- Will you be able to fulfill the time requirements of the position?

- Will you be able to regularly work at night or weekends?

At the final point of decision making

A selection committee will feel most confident that its final decision is free of bias and prejudice, if, on reflection it is convinced that the entire process has been closely monitored and that in its deliberation it has had available to it the best possible, performance-related evidence on each applicant.

In the following section those characteristics which seem to best typify 'good' selection practices are outlined in some detail.

Characteristics of Effective Selection

Recent research on administrator selection in Australia (Chapman 1984, 1985), Canada (Musella 1983), Great Britain (Morgan, Hall and Mackay 1983) and the United States of America (Batzell and Dentler, 1983) has indicated that there are certain characteristics associated

with effective selection procedures and practices. These characteristics and concerns, distilled from research and listed below, serve as a useful guide to those responsible for planning and monitoring the selection process.

- there is efficiency in the use of time and in the use of financial and human resources,
- there is adequate preparation at all stages of the process,
- there is clarity about proper procedures and respective responsibilities,
- there is scrupulous adherence to all procedures,
- there are checks and balances built into the entire process,
- there are rigorous standards applied to the consideration of applicants and the assessment of the process,
- all applicants are assessed on the same criteria, using the same procedures,

The selection committee

- the committee represents broad interest groups,
- the selectors have the skills necessary to produce a valid and reliable result,
- the selectors are familiar with current changes in education and society and are attuned to the future needs of children,
- the selectors are fully informed on the external factors that impinge upon the selection process, for example, legal and policy constraints and government guidelines,
- selectors are thoroughly briefed and 'inserviced' before embarking on the process,
- selectors have a clear understanding of their roles, their respective responsibilities and the constraints under which they operate prior to the process of selection.

Selection criteria

- the criteria are approved by the school governing body,
- a complete set of criteria is developed encompassing all the duties and skills required,
- the criteria are directly linked to the specific position under consideration,
- the criteria are well formulated and clearly articulated,

- a decision is made, in advance of screening, of the type of evidence to be considered appropriate in appraising applicants on the basis of the criteria,

- the criteria are made public so that applicants fully understand what is expected of them when preparing their applications,

The nature of evidence

- every effort is made to ensure that the evidence is comprehensive and directly relevant to the criteria,

- evidence is performance based and reflects practice over time,

- at each stage in the process, all evidence and supporting or rejecting judgments are recorded in writing and used to build up a composite profile of the applicant,

- selectors continually monitor evidence and discuss the types of inferences they are drawing from the information received.

Application forms

- application forms are structured to enable systematic assessments and comparisons,

- application forms are explicit about the information required,

- application forms enable assessments to be made of applicants' 'track record' and career development.

References

- reference request forms are explicit about the information required.

Interviews

- the interviews are structured,

- prior to each interview the selectors have in their possession a profile of the applicant based on evidence accumulated to date,

- prior to interviews the selectors have a clear understanding of the procedures to be followed, the questions to be asked, the means by which interview data is to be recorded and the manner in which interviews are to be assessed.

Arriving at a final decision

- a final point of decision making is not rushed,

- in arriving at a decision there is a systematic evaluation of each short-listed applicant based on a thorough review of all the evidence accumulated throughout the selection process,

- final evaluations are based on comparisons of applicants against the criteria.

Recommendations for Women Aspiring to Principal Positions

Long term preparation

- Throughout your career be courageous enough to ask colleagues for feedback on your performance. Learn how others see you. Learn how you 'present' yourself.

- Gain experience in public situations where you must 'think on your feet' and clearly articulate your opinions and feelings. Force yourself to talk up in public forums, to chair meetings and to take assemblies.

- Establish a trusting relationship with a person(s) with whom you can reflect on experiences and who can give a wider, informed perspective. This person should provide you with a sounding board. He/she should give you constructive help and confidence in your professional life.

- Establish a name in your community. Realise it is no longer sufficient to 'do an honest day's work within the school'. Be visible in all aspects of the life of the school community.

- Learn not to be afraid of rejection. Realise that you will not please everyone. Have the confidence to fail. Be prepared to 'put yourself on the line'.

- Realistically assess your value. Recognise that you deserve the job as much as any one else of comparable experience and qualification.

- Come to know yourself and recognise your strengths and weaknesses. If you have weaknesses confront them and learn to handle them constructively.

- Carefully look at your career path. Identify a goal which you would like to attain, a dream you would wish to fulfill. Learn how others have attained that goal and identify the paths which can be followed to its attainment.

- Do not be embarrassed about recognising and admitting to your strengths. Let people know you are an 'able' person. Build it into their set of expectations about you. Build up their confidence in you.

- Do not shy away from addressing difficult issues.

- Develop opinions, positions and most importantly, develop a personal philosophy, your vision for education.

- Become the initiator rather than the support person.

Short Term Preparation

- Carefully prepare a written application.

- Read the school profile and the job advertisement.

- Contact and if possible visit the school and obtain as much additional information about the school, the position and the community as is possible.

- Speak informally with those who may be familiar with various aspects of the school and its community.

In your letter of application:

- state your case in clear, succinct language that will be readily understood by the professional educators and the lay person;

- specifically address your application to the needs of the school and the major areas of responsibility as detailed in the school profile and the job description;

- state clearly the fundamental tenets of your educational philosophy;

- ensure that within your application letter you effectively display the 'vision' you have for the school;

- refer to actual behaviours/accomplishments which provide evidence that you do indeed possess the relevant skills and experience;

- provide substantiating evidence for your claims. In most instances this evidence can be included as appendices to your application.

Selecting confidential referees:

Contained within your letter of application, either as an appended list or within the body of the letter itself, will be the details of your 'confidential' referees. Your choice of confidential referees will be a major factor in determining the success or failure of your application. Choose them with care.

- Ensure that your confidential referees are men or women who will be respected and considered credible by the members of the selection committee.

- Select referees who will be considered by members of the selection committee to be 'honest and frank'.

- Select referees who will be enthusiastic in their support for your application. This can be guaranteed to a greater extent if you provide prospective referees with substantial information about the school and the position.

- Stress to your confidential referees the necessity for them to address their comments to the specific requirements of the school and the position and to any specific issues raised by the selection committee. They should validate your claims of experience and expertise.

Prior to Interview:

Identify potential problem areas; the areas where selectors may hold potentially discriminatory attitudes towards women. Be well prepared to answer questions on discipline, your ability to take pressure, the breadth of your experience, your involvement in the wider community, your preparedness to devote time and energy to the school, your personal and professional priorities, your ability to relate to others, especially to the men who are likely to constitute a sizeable proportion of your staff and your governing body.

At the Interview. Ask for feedback from the committee:

- What attracted this committee to my application? Would the committee have any misgivings about appointing me? Show that this is important and that you are very serious about being appointed.

- Present yourself with conviction.

- Avoid those aspects of 'female' language patterns which reflect uncertainty. Say things in a positive way, instead of 'I would hope to...' say 'I would do...'

- Learn to turn everything to your advantage. If the interviewer detects a weakness in your application or preparation do not buckle under. Lead the discussion along to a positive resolution.

- Display your 'vision' for education and for the future of the school.

- Take charge of yourself and the interview. Show you are 'master of your world'.

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LAY WOMEN AS PRINCIPALS IN CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS?

Janice Nash

Introduction

Within the different Australian education systems, the principalship is dominated by men. Studies from the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain and New Zealand point to the existence of the same situation in their schools.

Until recently Catholic schools in this country were not characterised by such an imbalance. However, the decline in the number of men and women from the teaching orders who are capable of filling executive positions has necessitated the appointment of lay principals. These principals are mostly men. Although this trend conforms with the general pattern, it requires closer scrutiny because the under-representation of women in the principalship is now occurring in a system where traditionally women have held that position in approximately the same proportion as men. Furthermore, women seeking promotion to the principalship in that system are not disadvantaged to the same extent as women in Australian government schools by a formal promotion structure which places emphasis on seniority and which has set criteria for eligibility to each level or list position in the hierarchy.

Failure to apply for promotion certainly provides a simple explanation for the situation. A recent study in Victoria showed that in a questionnaire involving 349 women respondents only 9 (or 2.6 per cent) had ever applied for a secondary principalship in a Catholic school. The head personnel officer in the Sydney Archdiocese likewise indicated the general failure of women to apply for either the deputy principal or principal positions. But this response of failure to apply only prompts further questions:

> What are the factors or barriers confronting women in Catholic secondary schools which might explain their under-representation as principals?
>
> Are these factors similar to those in other systems?
>
> Are these factors related specifically to the Catholic system?

Although the degree of influence appears to vary, the factors or barriers which offer an explanation for the situation are basically the same as those which are found in other education systems. Further, they can be categorised into three groups: those factors which arise from indirect institutional discrimination; those factors which are attributable to women teachers themselves; and those factors incorporating attitudes or beliefs, conscious or unconscious, leading to unintentional, direct discrimination.

Indirect Systemic Discrimination

The factors which emerge in the category of indirect systemic discrimation are more closely related to the nature of the

Catholic education system than those factors in other areas. The following list identifies only the most obvious ones.

- Women are ineligible through lack of administrative experience.

- The continuing presence of religious in the positions of principal and deputy principal hinders both men and women.

- The tendency is for women to stay at the classroom level or at least spend more time there before seeking promotion. The expectation of this career pattern must influence those who promote, and ultimately disadvantage all women.

- Women do not seem to acquire to the same extent as men incidental professional training that could assist them in seeking promotion.

Factors Attributable to Women Themselves

Many of the factors which stand in the way of women attaining the principalship are attributable to women teachers themselves. However, it must be appreciated that these factors are not easily isolated and are intertwined with those in the other two categories. The actual failure of women to apply for the principalship is a superficial outcome of the points detailed below.

- There is evidence to suggest that women, overall, are not as well qualified academically as men are for administrative positions.

- The aspiration or ambition to pursue an administrative career is seemingly not a strong motivating factor for most women.

- Closely allied to the relatively low career ambitions of women is their lack of confidence in their ability to assume successful leadership positions.

- The most outstanding factor which accounts for women not seeking the principalship and which underpins the three points already mentioned is that home commitments receive their first priority. Moreover the importance placed upon the family unit in the Catholic Church undoubtedly gives moral strength to home life receiving this position. But apart from Church teachings, there is, within Australian society, a strong pressure upholding the notion that a female's role of wife and mother should take precedence over any other role.

- Another pressure centres on the lack of support women are given in the home. Most females who pursue a career do so while maintaining a family and all other home responsibilities. Thus, many commonplace difficulties encountered can be attributed to job overload. An administrative position would simply add to that load.

- The desire of women to remain in the classroom because it gives them satisfaction is offered by some women as a reason for their not seeking promotion. A few certainly find the classroom level preferable to the male career pattern with its associated pressures and its apparent unattractive awards. Nevertheless, this factor must be viewed with caution as it is frequently proffered unjustifiably as an excuse for not providing women with opportunities in school administration.

Social Attitudes, Beliefs and Practices

The third major category centres on those factors which arise from attitudes held in society, especially those concerning the role of women.

- There is overwhelming evidence indicating that there are deeply entrenched attitudes in Australian society which perceive men as leaders and women as followers. This lessens the possibility of women, despite their competence, assuming leadership roles. In other words, sex role stereotyping leads individuals to hold, in varying degrees, negative attitudes concerning the appointment of women to the principalship which is viewed essentially as a masculine domain.

- Consequently, although it is generally recognised that women have the characteristics essential for a good principal when compared with men, they are not seen to have these essential characteristics to the same extent.

- Most important in this category are the attitudes of those who are in a position to employ or promote. In the Catholic system the promoters/employers are perceived by teaching personnel as being conservative because they are identified with the attitudes and practices of the Catholic Church. It is unlikely that they will regard women as being as well suited as men for the leadership role of principal.

- The distinguishing aspect of Catholic education, that is, its Catholicity, also appears to contribute to the near absence of women as principals. The Catholic Church is seen to support and perpetuate in its own structure and practices traditional attitudes concerning the place of women in society. The all-male hierarchy is often pointed to as the obvious example of the Catholic Church's endorsement of a woman's place being that of a follower. Thus it is inconceivable that the discriminatory attitudes towards women being perpetuated by the Church should cease to function in the vital area of education and, more precisely, in the appointment of its principal teachers.

It is useful to refer back to the question posed in the introduction. Firstly, it appears that the under-representation of women in Catholic secondary schools is an outcome of the same or similar factors which are functioning in other systems. Nevertheless not all factors are of equal influence. Secondly, the Catholic Church, by upholding traditional attitudes on the

roles of women in society, must greatly influence the choice of roles considered suitable for women to play in Catholic education.

Recommendations for Changing the Under-Representation of Women as Principals

This paper maintains that women can perform competently in educational administration. The underlying barrier to most women reaching this principalship is found in societal attitudes, beliefs and practices. Without doubt the situation will not be rectified until some change occurs in those attitudes, beliefs and practices.

Meanwhile, the following strategies and policies are suggested as approaches which might contribute to hastening the change. The majority would have to be implemented through professional associations, such as teachers' unions, or through official groups administering education.

- Information should be provided to the community, to the employers and to the aspiring women administrators about the imbalance of females in administration and the factors accounting for this.

- Those women who have successfully fulfilled administrative positions should be made visible and even accessible so that they might give encouragement and actively help other women.

- Negative stereotypes of women as administrators, which perpetuate the beliefs that women are weak, emotionally unstable, indecisive and lack leadership skills, should be attacked.

- Courses, particularly in leadership skills should be provided for women so that they might acquire basic skills in personnel management and organisational procedures as well as a sense of confidence in their own abilities.

- Support for individuals should be built through the establishment of organisations concerned with women in educational administration. Such organisations would be in a position to communicate or negotiate with authorities or the public, with more strength than the individual.

- The alliance of anyone or any group who is concerned with social justice should be sought. At the school level, the experiences of women should be broadened deliberately by exposing them to a range of administration activities, formal and informal.

- In girls' and co-educational schools at least one woman in a senior administrative position should be appointed. This may require positive discrimination.

- Women themselves should make a positive effort to gain experience in diverse administrative situations; to build up networks; to pursue opportunities that will display their

talents; to upgrade their qualifications, to plan their career; to work conscientiously, and to view themselves as competent.

Conclusion

In a society where men are the dominant group, they largely determine the criteria against which goodness and appropriateness are judged. Consequently women face an overwhelming task in trying to formulate realistic strategies to eliminate discrimination.

So far attempts to alter formal structures in order not to disadvantage women have met with limited success. Indeed, it is unlikely that the status of women will change appreciably in any sphere of life, until many sex role stereotype attitudes are dismantled and women are perceived as being capable of fulfilling leadership roles. Hence, to pursue consciously strategies and policies, like those put forward in this paper, is imperative if there are to be more women principals in Catholic secondary schools.

Note

This paper is based on reseach which was done for a thesis, *The Promotion of Women to the Principalship: A Case Study*, submitted to the University of New England for the degree, Master of Educational Administration.

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WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS: IS THE PAST STILL AHEAD OF US?

Di Fleming

Introduction

Though it might be fashionable in some quarters to perceive independent schools as a monolith, such a perception would be spurious in the extreme. There is little commonality in philosophy, aims, goals and objectives. But there is one common denominator to these schools. They serve a community where clients, that is the parents, are able to make a choice between educational institutions for their children.

The Position for Women

Appointment of staff within independent schools is an individual matter without the constraints of either seniority or industrial agreements which are reflected in the government system. In general all independent schools have application processes, methods of selection, criteria for selection, ratification/approval, rights of appeal and conditions of appointment. What is common to non-government schools is that they have built-in structural and attitudinal characteristics which mitigate against the appointment of women in positions of management.

There is no point in presenting the current statistics on the number of women in management in independent schools in this country; the picture is similar to that of the government system. Elementary school teaching is still very much gendered labour. When one takes a horizontal perspective, sisterhood is alive and well. When one transcends classroom management, the vertical distribution of gender ratios reinforces the reasons as to why this conference has been convened. The majority of primary school teachers are female whilst the majority of administrators are male.

There are two major concerns confronting us: firstly the lack of women in management/decision-making positions and the gendered labour scene which continues to reinforce the social, stereotypical influence and attitudes in the young people in this society. It is damaging for children to see only males in power positions, especially in primary and junior schools.

How to precisely quantify the extent of these problems within the independent sector presents some difficulty. Within independent schools in Victoria, there is no documentation which is equivalent to Schwarz's study, *Women in the Education Department in Victoria*. The information found on people in power is mainly descriptive and to generalize from such would be seen by many independent schools as either offensive or erroneous when applied to their mode of operation. Whether such a reaction is justifiable is a difficult judgment. What can be said is that the lack of quantifiable information about management positions in such schools is probably symptomatic of the notion of independence. It is not unfair to suggest that independent schools may well enjoy a real sense of 'exclusiveness' through this degree of anonymity. As a general rule the education community, let alone the general community, knows what independent schools want it to

know. Despite being accountable financially to the state for use of public funds and to their own communities for private input, the policies and practices of such schools remain the property of the internal groups which dominate their institutionalised political processes. Policies and practices relating to women in management positions are no exception. Both proponents and opponents of independent schools might well see this as the actual demonstration of what has been determined the 'independent ethos'.

In the May 1985 edition of *Independence*, the journal of the Headmasters' Conference of Australia, Robert Nethercote provided an analysis of deputy principal positions in independent schools. Nethercote described the lack of research, providing a comparative general analysis of the 'Role of Deputy Principals in Independent Schools in Victoria'. Mr. Max Howell, Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School presented four stereotypes by which the role can be categorised:

. the old man of the tribe

. the hatchet man

. the witchdoctor

. the general dogsbody

I am unsure if the fourth stereotype is in fact the only androgynous category or if there could possibly be a misprint which should read General Dogsbody.

Questionnaires were sent to all Headmasters' Conference (HMC) schools and the Association of Heads in Independent Girls' Schools (AHIGS) in Victoria - the titles of the two organisations further enlightening us as to the reasons why the above stereotypic categories are alive and well. The good news is that at the end of 1985 in all its End of the Decade for Women significance, both bodies will combine. The interesting question for women in management will be, 'Through coalescence, will the new chairperson be male or female?' If the past is to be our future, and if history repeats itself, the appointment is sure to be a male. A recommendation from this conference might be to the chairpersons of HMC and AHIGS that they negotiate and make suitable constitutional amendments to enable an alternate sharing of this position between men and women.

Nethercote's study of deputy principals quantifies present understanding of the situation (Table 1).

A further recommendation from this conference might be that either organisation such as NCIS or an individual undertake a major study of management within independent schools, which would clearly identify the problems of discrimination and add strength to an argument which is currently very difficult to quantify.

TABLE 1

HIGHEST ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF DEPUTY PRINCIPALS (AND OTHERS)

(n = 46)

Highest Academic Qualifications	Male	Female	Total(f)	Cumulative Total(Cf)
Ph.D	2	0	2	2
Master Degree	5	5	10	12
Bachelor Degree(s)	16	16	32	44
Diploma	1	0	1	45
Other	1	0	1	46
Total	25	21	46	

In addressing attitudinal and structural barriers to greater participation by women in educational management, it must be said that many independent schools are responsible for the perpetuation of sexist socialisation and consequent discrimination. Now, more than ever before, society should be interpreting the world through an androgenous paradigm, yet many independent schools are social constructs which deliberately reject such an interpretation. Single sex schools can hardly be classified as societal microcosms, given their sexually exclusive curriculum and practices. There can be no denying that a great number of students from these schools transmit the effects of their socialisation to the workplace and their pervading sphere of influence.

Despite the findings and recommendations of the Commonwealth Schools Commission report, *Girls and Tomorrow*, it may well be that single sex girls' schools are necessary for a period of time in providing environments for girls when their self esteem and self concept is at its lowest ebb. Although it may be advisable to stream classes on a gender basis this is not an argument for single sex schools from K - 12. The real world comprises of males and females; the existence of single sex schools whether for males or females is a parody of that reality.

A Case Study

One of the objectives of the conference is to share knowledge about the extent of the participation of women in educational management and the policies, programs and processes being developed by

practitioners in the systems and schools. Wesley College Melbourne may be an appropriate case study. It is now 118 years old and the last decade may well be seen as a move by the College towards accepting the notion of Paula Silver which states 'I believe that educators have a moral obligation to use knowledge to change their own "natural" tendencies in the interests of enhancing social equality'.

Wesley College Council and the Principal, Mr. David Prest, made a decision to change from a single sex boys college to a co-educational college. This decision had diverse ramifications for the total College community: philosophical, administrative, curricular and environmental.

What effect has this decision had on women in management? There is not time to document in detail the degree of change over the last ten years; however, the present situation demonstrates the welding of idealism and pragmatism.

There are thirteen key administrative positions encompassing both campuses, Prahran and Glen Waverley, for 1986 as set out in Table 2.

TABLE 2

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS AT WESLEY COLLEGE MELBOURNE

Wesley College, Melbourne
Principal (M)

Glen Waverley	Prahran
Head (F)	Head (M)
Deputy Head (M)	Deputy Head (F)
Preparatory school co-ordinator (F)	Junior school co-ordinator (F)
Junior school co-ordinator (M)	Middle school co-ordinator (F)
Middle school co-ordinator (M)	Senior college co-ordinator (M)

Director of curriculum (M) and Director of outdoor education (M)
(responsibility across the College)

Out of the thirteen senior positions, five are held by women, the middle school co-ordinator at Prahran will be a caretaker position held by a male while the appointed woman undertakes postgraduate studies in the United States of America in 1986 - the welding of idealism and pragmatism needs to be amply resourced. Commitment to equal opportunity has been reflected in the organisation framework and the encouragement of women to apply for all senior management positions.

In many ways, Wesley College is atypical. Most other co-educational independent schools have not addressed the key issue of affirmative action. Appointment of staff is critical. Without a gender balance across each class level and within the administrative structure the questions of sexually inclusive curricula and school practice cannot be adequately addressed. A school which pays lip service to co-education through a sexually exclusive administration and practice loses credibility with students, especially girls, and with its parent clients. Is equal opportunity within a school attainable when girls and boys see an administrative model which is mainly male? Where are the mentors for your women aspiring to management positions and where are the professional role models for all students, male and female?

Wesley College has gradually redressed the historical dominance through affirmative action but the appointment of staff is only the first step. Equal opportunity and the implementation of appropriate practice is confronted daily. The following areas give a few basic examples of critical practice.

School assemblies

. Administrative line-up of male and female role models.

. Visiting speakers representing men and women active in non-traditional work roles.

. Equal recognition of sporting achievements by both male and female students.

School leadership

. Male and female students working in partnership.

. Balanced representation in student representative bodies.

Careers counselling

. No discrimination with respect to guidance and advice on future life-paths.

Curriculum

. Constant evaluation of sexist material.

Wesley College is co-educational to Year 10 and while the current senior college is all male, it is the last bastion of the school's single sex past. At the end of 1984 an analysis was undertaken on the basis of student performance for that year, Year 9. It was found that there was no significant difference between the performance of girls and boys in all subjects. In July 1985 the SCOPE Questionnaire was administered to all Year 10 students and the following trends became apparent.

- There is still a concern with traditional sex stereotypic choices in the areas of foreign language and performing/ creative arts for girls, while males continue to demonstrate their inclination towards mathematics, science and computer science. The important trend is the closing gap between girls and boys in their subject choices at Wesley College.

- In the 'Profile of Interests in Each Job Area Percentage of Each Sex in Year 10 Students', the correlation between gender was more diverse than the profile demonstrated across Victoria.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, the following issues need to be analysed as providing structural barriers for women in management in independent schools.

- School councils: the historic domination of successful males and the consequent influence on the appointment of principals and indirectly of staff.

- The role of the church in a number of independent schools: its traditional adherence to the dominance of males in decision-making roles.

- Single sex schools: the peculiar effect of such institutions on the process of both management and role stereotypes, which increasingly fails to reflect the changes in gender roles over the last two decades.

- Old student network: the tendency of such formal and informal organisations to perpetuate the conditions applicable to their own half remembered schooling experiences.

This paper proposes three recommendations:

- The Australian Council for Educational Administration with the Australian College of Education should be approached to undertake a thorough analysis of staffing in independent schools in Australia. Whilst the trends might be anticipated, the results would provide a substantial power base for action.

- Independent schools should be urged to take cognisance of their social responsibility as policy makers for affirmative action. Policies affecting leadership models and attitudes which are not cognisant of the social spectrum will never achieve their goals, nor will the students for which independent schools are responsible be fully equipped to participate in the twenty-first century.

- Each man and woman should work within their specific sphere of influence to maintain the issue of women in management as item one on their agenda. The power of implementation of recommendations from this conference is with the individual. Without individual action our past is certain to be our future. While governments continue to legislate, organisations and individuals still discriminate.

STATE OVERVIEWS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY MANAGEMENT PLAN IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Kerry Hyland

Introduction

Equal employment opportunity programs in New South Wales developed out of the shortcomings of the 1977 complaint-based Anti-Discrimination Act, as well as from the recommendations of the *Review of NSW Public Administration* carried out by Dr Peter Wilenski.

In 1980 an amendment to the 1977 legislation was passed. This was Part 1XA, which established the Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment in NSW and required all government departments and statutory authorities to develop equal employment opportunity management plans.

NSW Management Plan

In the NSW Department of Education, the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) management plan for the teaching service took four years to complete, drawing on considerable human resources. The completed plan provides a profile of the organisation in terms of the representations of the target groups covered under the legislation - people from non-English speaking backgrounds, Aboriginal people, women and people with physical impairments.

In compiling this EEO management plan four processes were involved.

- Analysis of personnel statistics which form the base mark against which EEO programs can be examined on an annual basis.

- Review of personnel practices with a view to the identification of discriminatory practices and effects. This included a review of recruitment techniques, selection criteria, training and staff development programs, promotion and transfer opportunities and patterns and conditions of service.

- Collection and analysis of empirical survey data which provides information not available from other sources, including profiles of people of non-English speaking backgrounds, those with physical impairments, and subjective data concerning individual and group experiences of working with the organisation.

- Development of strategies for change addressing obstacles which the organisation has identified by a thorough research program. These strategies are designed to expose and overcome discrimination against women, Aboriginal people, people from non-English speaking backgrounds and people with physical impairments.

It should be noted that the management plan is a 'living' document designed to change over time as a result of its implementation, evaluation and development of further initiatives.

Input was also gathered from community agencies and organisations including the Anti-Discrimination Board, the Office of the Director for Equal Opportunity in Public Employment, the Social Development Unit in the Office of the Minister for Education, the Ethnic Affairs Commission, the Overseas Teachers' Association, the NSW Aboriginal Consultative Group, the NSW Federation of Parents and Citizens Associations, the Federation of School Community Organisations, the Royal Blind Society of NSW, the Adult Deaf Society, the Disability Council of NSW, the NSW Teachers' Federation, the Institute of Inspectors of Schools and Senior Educational Administrators of NSW, and the teachers and other departmental officers who participated in the two EEO surveys.

In the NSW Department of Education, the Director of EEO during the period of the development of the management plan was the then Deputy Director-General, Mr Bob Winder, who had a close working relationship with the Director-General. The selection of such a high ranking officer as the director of EEO has highlighted the considerable importance and status that has been given to and has been perceived to be given to the EEO program. This has been an important feature in its success. In July 1985 Mr Winder was appointed Director-General of Education assuming major responsibility for the implementation of the EEO management plan, with the Director of Industrial Relations, Mr Geoff Baldwin, being appointed as the Director of EEO.

The most significant feature of the EEO management plan is that it is truly that - a *management* plan. Once the research was completed and the issues identified, ninety-one strategies for change were drafted and refined by the senior management of the department. Included in this process were the then Director-General, Mr Doug Swan, the then Deputy Director-General, the four Assistant Directors-General and the Directors of Education. Consultation with Regional Directors of Education was carried out during the three to four month period in which the strategies were developed.

Consultation with and involvement of senior management ensured that the direction of the EEO program was consistent with all other educational programs undertaken by the department. The process had a further benefit in that it led to a serious commitment from senior management to the successful implementation of the EEO program. This commitment has been maintained through the initial phase of the launch and distribution of the EEO management plan. Many senior officers have been publicly involved in supporting the EEO program as well as explaining the benefits expected to the educational system as a whole through enhanced management practices.

The management plan, which was officially launched by the NSW Minister for Education, Mr Rod Cavalier, sets out positive

initiatives for upgrading personnel practices for women, the largest target group affected.

Objectives of the Plan

The plan does not intend to positively discriminate on behalf of women employees but to redress the imbalances of the existing employment system.

A significant effect of the plan for women teachers will be to improve the access of women to permanent positions and to provide better promotional opportunities. At 60 per cent of the workforce, women are well represented in the teaching profession but their representation in promotion positions is low with only 25 per cent in primary and 21 per cent in secondary schools.

The proposed affirmative action program will, over the five years of operation, significantly improve the representation of women in promotion positions particularly at the levels where it is presently critically low. At the level of deputy principal of a secondary school, representation of women will, on projected estimates, be increased from 6.4 per cent in 1983 to 21.7 per cent. For principals of secondary schools the increase projected is from 7.4 per cent in 1983 to 14 per cent in the fifth year of the affirmative action program. In the primary arena where the numbers of principals of first class schools are smaller in number, representation would still be improved. It is projected that the 1983 figure of 5.3 per cent would be increased by 2.6 per cent to 7.9 per cent in five years.

The results of such a program will not only bring improvements in the overall representation of women but having many more women in promotion positions will provide children with more female role models in positions of authority in government schools.

Also included within the plan is a major proposal to restructure the promotional opportunities for all teachers. It proposes to offer 10 per cent of vacant promotion positions to eligible applicants by selecting the 'best' teacher for the job. This method of appointment radically departs from the present mechanism of seniority.

Implementation Strategies

The EEO management plan is an important program for some women who along with mature-age entrants and people employed with overseas qualifications, have had their career opportunities retarded by the seniority system's rules which rely upon continuity of service. For the most part women teachers still accept the major responsibility for child rearing. If they have periods out of the service to raise their children they experience penalties upon re-employment, which either exclude or retard their promotional opportunities and thus they have difficulties competing with teachers who have continuous service.

As the proposed program intends to offer 10 per cent of vacant promotion positions to be filled through selection, women who may

not have the seniority but who are capable, qualified and talented teachers will have the opportunity to compete for positions previously out of reach. In addition the plan will improve the provisions for accreditation for child rearing to allow greater access to benefits for women who have had broken service as a result of their family responsibilities. It will also provide opportunities for women at various levels to participate in departmental committees.

Female promotion prospects have been particularly affected by post-maternity leave rules. The plan provides for greater flexibility in this area.

The status of temporary staff, of which 80 per cent are women, has been a major problem. To achieve permanent status teachers need to join the state superannuation fund and be prepared to serve anywhere in the state, factors which make it very difficult for women to conform with the requirements for permanent status. The proposed introduction of new categories of permanent appointments will ensure that women have access to the professional and monetary benefits associated with permanency.

Conclusion

The department's commitment to the implementation of an effective EEO program is receiving broad acknowledgment. Many of the proposals have been widely welcomed by parent and community groups who see them as providing positive initiatives which will improve the quality of education in the schools for the students, teachers and the community. Opposition to some of the proposals from some teachers is being addressed by the department through an education program explaining the proposals, their objectives and benefits to teachers. This program is being undertaken by the EEO co-ordinator and EEO liaison officers located in regions and supported by senior officers of the department.

MAKING THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE IN VICTORIA

Veronica Schwarz

Introduction

Let us begin with an old but still relevant riddle. A man and his young son were riding along on a motorbike when they were struck by a speeding truck. The man was killed instantly and the boy was rushed to hospital with serious injuries. The hospital called the top surgeon to operate immediately. On entering the theatre the surgeon took one look at the boy and said 'We'll have to get another surgeon to operate. I can't. That's my only son!' Who was the surgeon?

In Victoria

A report *Women in the Education Department* published by the Education Department of Victoria, detailed the basic data showing the position of women in that department in 1984. The report traces the changes in the positions of women in the teaching service since formal equality was instituted in Victoria in 1972. The figures show that in a system of formal equality, the proportion of women in the senior positions in schools has declined. The distribution of male and female teachers is no better than in 1925 when artificial ratios were created to limit the number of women in senior positions!

Recently, a number of moves have begun in further attempts to improve women's position in the Victorian Education Department.

Equal opporunity legislation, a public service action plan for women, and major changes in family leave provisions and the introduction of permanent part time work, have recently provided further potential for the technical removal of barriers to the promotion of women in the Victorian Education Department. The Director-General of Education, Dr. Norman Curry, has been continually supportive in attempts to improve the position of women in the department.

The department has an Equal Opportunity Co-ordinator, an Equal Opportunity Unit, and Equal Opportunity Resources Centres in four of its twelve Regions. Within the Personnel and Industrial Relations Branch, a senior administrator has been given the additional role of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO)(Public Service) Co-ordinator in line with the Public Service Board's recent requirement.

The Deputy Director of Personnel has been given the additional role of EEO (Teaching Service) Co-ordinator. These EEO co-ordinators work with two consultative committees consisting of department representatives and teacher and public service union representatives respectively. These committees have drawn up specific action plans and will monitor their implementation.

Working with them is a full-time EEO Consultant responsible for EEO matters relating not only to the teaching service but also

to public servants employed in the education department - 25,118 men and 36,163 women as at March 1985. In July 1984, local selection of post-primary school principals and deputy principals was introduced and the option has since been extended to primary schools. In this way, merit as determined by a local selection panel replaces seniority as the criterion for appointment. The effect on women is not yet known. However, with all these formal, visible structures in place, it would seem that, if the position of women can be improved, Victoria has an excellent chance of accomplishing it.

Making the Invisible Visible

However, past experience teaches us that removing visible barriers does not always result in women occupying positions previously unattainable or difficult for them to attain. The invisible barriers of attitudes and social expectations must be highlighted - made highly visible and highly unacceptable. The major invisible barriers to women's progress lie in the often unconscious attitudes of men to women and the attitudes of women to themselves.

While the regulations and formal structures of our systems can be and should be changed and Victoria has made considerable moves in this direction, it is useful to examine the often subliminal barriers to change. While a conference such as this should make practical recommendations for systemic change, as conference participants the underlying causes for women's position can be profitably explored in order to provide a theoretical star chart to guide a course of action. The Pandora's Box of gender identity and social relationships should be opened.

In focusing on the position of women, we often neglect the concept that it is a relative one, that is, relative to the position of men, and cannot be viewed in isolation from that.

Currently, gender identity in Australian society takes the form of polarisation of possible human potential and characteristics. Little boys are steered towards and rewarded for accepted 'masculine' behaviour while little girls are encouraged to be 'feminine'. The cluster of characteristics acceptable in boys and men include independence, stoicism, strength, action, initiative, leadership, control, competitiveness and aggressiveness. For girls the opposite is usually the case though, within limits, the tomboy is acceptable. These statements have been around for a long time and the nature/nurture argument still rages. But one aspect that is not often highlighted is that the attitudes of men to women are linked with their own gender identity as 'masculine' beings, the apparent requirement for an other, an opposite which is 'feminine' whose characteristics are taboo for them. Thus, not exhibiting 'feminine' characteristics is an integral measure of 'masculinity' perhaps even more basic than exhibiting 'masculine' characteristics. Maintaining the 'feminine' is a necessary condition for the existence of 'masculinity'. Small boys learn to repress and regard as weakness in themselves those characteristics seen as appropriate in the female. The attitude of most boys in our schools to girls is

usually quite evident from the earliest grades. Can they like, respect or be friends with people who exhibit characteristics they have learnt to despise?

'Strong' characteristics are seen as appropriate for the male and these include leadership, control and decision making. Not only does this place these areas firmly in the 'masculine' domain, it also results in generalised assumptions about the potential of females and the roles that are appropriate for them. By the way - the surgeon was the boy's mother.

The point is that by defining 'masculinity' not only in terms of what it should be but also in terms of what it should not be and equating those negative characteristics with the 'feminine', we have effectively put women in a double bind. Women are defined as the 'opposite' sex whose characteristics fit them for a different role from the male. The concept of women as leaders, administrators and managers runs contrary to an ideology learnt at an early age. It also strikes at the roots of male gender identity as it is currently defined.

Women's attitudes to themselves have, like men's, been formed at an early age. The frequently documented lower self esteem and confidence of girls is well established by the end of primary school. Studies of classroom dynamics and playground interaction in mixed sex situations give us the key to where, as educators, we might start raising the status of women and girls generally.

Schools need to focus not only on girls in their 'equal opportunity' programs but equally on boys' concepts of themselves and their attitudes to girls. This is the long range, evolutionary way to change.

Invisible barriers to women's progress begin with the attitudes developed in childhood. Schools can ensure that at least they do not reinforce the process but their responsibility goes much further than this. The aim of schools is to develop the potential of their students and this runs directly counter to acceptance of unexamined beliefs about the capabilities of any group, including females.

Again, all this has been said before. The suggestions and recommendations for changing schools are known. They've been repeated over and over since 1975 - teacher awareness, classroom dynamics, curriculum content and language, subject choice, career education, physical education and self esteem. And yet, disbelief and even hostility still greets the raising of the issues of girls' education and women's lack of promotion in education systems. Why?

Getting our House in Order

Let's open Pandora's Box a little further and focus on relationships. The status of women will not be improved until we radically change the relationship between men and women.

In her recent Australia-wide research on *Women Teachers and Promotion*, Dr Shirley Sampson of Monash University identified several areas where women were still disadvantaged in the education system. She found that although men and women were equally well qualified at the start of their careers, differences began to emerge as they continued their careers. These differences were in the areas of further qualifications, nature of inservice, experiences gained through task allocation, encouragement from superiors and spouses, and family responsibilities. Why should this be?

When young teachers start their careers, they appear to begin on an equal basis, bringing to their work their enthusiasm and energy. If they marry or share a household, they tend nowadays to share domestic responsibilities, although the woman is still likely to be seen as basically responsible. If they have children the female's career pattern will change; in most cases the male's will not. If the woman stays home with the children while her partner continues his career to earn their livelihood she will usually take on full responsibility for childcare and domestic tasks. He will often undertake further study to improve his career while his partner cares for the children and keeps the house running. With their children at school she will probably resume her career. With both partners once again in the workforce a strange thing happens. They do not return to the arrangement of sharing responsibility to the degree they did before the birth of the children. The pattern is set and domestic and child care arrangements firmly remain her responsibility. She now has two jobs! Those women who do not marry or have children are not in quite the same overloaded position but, unlike most men, women are not provided with the support nor the domestic services of a wife. That women do as well as they have is the surprising thing.

When a woman undertakes her career and full domestic responsibilities several things are happening - some quite obvious and some more subtle. The obvious comparison of men and women's career possibilities show the inbuilt handicaps. Women in the two-job category must split their energy, time and concentration, their possibilities for study at night are reduced and they already have a surfeit of responsibilities without applying for more. They do not go home and relax while someone else prepares dinner every night. They do not reach into a wardrobe and expect a clean outfit magically to appear. They must not only do these things for themselves but for several other people as well.

On the subtle level the assumed responsibility of the female for childcare and domestic tasks has even more devastating effects on her position in the workforce. Firstly, it reaffirms the 'naturalness' of sexual divisions of labour - the concept of 'men's work' and 'women's work' which permeates the entire workforce, including the education sector. Secondly, it defines appropriate work for women as derivatives of their domestic and childcare roles. Thus appropriate careers for women involve small children or caring for others or being assistants or secretaries to men.

In Australian schools the men's work/women's work dichotomy can be seen in the allocation of organisational, administrative and leadership tasks to men as well as responsibility for teaching the older students while women are more frequently given the pastoral responsibilities and the younger classes. Experience required for promotion usually resides in the first set of tasks.

There is no intention to apportion blame here - that serves no purpose. Nevertheless men need to face the fact squarely that they have played a not inconsiderable part in maintaining the situation.

In the relationship between men and women only one thing at the moment is constant - women have the children. Beyond nine months gestation and an optional period of lactation everything else is negotiable. There is no genetic imperative involved in cooking and cleaning. Like many things contributing to women's position in society the issue appears trivial. Do not be deceived. It is quite basic.

While women have re-entered the workforce in large numbers and contributed financially to families men have not in corresponding proportion taken on a fair share of domestic and childcare responsibilities. While women are working in two jobs up to and more than twice the hours that men do and curtailing their energies and time in their profession as a result but are still seen as 'naturally' dependent on men, women are frankly exploited and their potential wasted. What is needed is a personal revolution in our relationships with each other, starting with ourselves and our relationship with our own partners if we have them.

Women who care about the position of women need to take a firm stand with male partners in insisting on equally shared responsibilities coupled with respect and concern for each other's careers.

Men who are concerned have initially the much more difficult tasks of giving up several privileges and comforts, of working longer hours and curtailing certain freedoms. It will take a great deal of fair-mindedness for men to change. It has been a comfortable arrangement for them.

Conference participants, male and female, could undertake to begin this 'personal revolution' and change the position of women in their personal lives.

Conclusion

The major purpose in this paper is to draw attention to what may be two of the most basic impediments to women's progress:

. the sexual division of labour which takes its cue from the family scene and colours the attitudes of both men and women to concepts of men's work and women's work;

- the current concept of masculinity which requires an opposite to give it definition.

Each of these issues should be tackled at a personal level - in our social relationships, in our teaching young people and in our own careers - and we should use the understanding of the underlying issues to inform our strategies at system level.

This is not to deny the importance of systemic and structural change which other speakers have discussed. The personal and systemic should be simultaneous. The current changes in the Victorian Education Department which I have outlined provide excellent examples of possible structural strategies. In order to develop the ideas, contribute to change and maintain the impetus of this conference, participants in state groups should maintain contact with each other within states and among states.

Remember that the riddle at the beginning of this paper is still incomprehensible to many people - try it on a few colleagues. The sexual division of labour - men's work/women's work - is alive and well. That is the basic concept which should be changed. Women can and should be principals ... and major decision makers ... and senior administrators ... and Directors-General. And it is time they were!

CHANGING THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE VICTORIAN EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Marilyn Jamieson and Barry Sheehan

Background

Many of the problems in education in Victoria in the 1980s have clear roots in a forty-year history of crisis management. The demographic explosion together with the explosion of expectations in the wake of the Second World War took everyone by surprise and led to enormous problems in the education sector. The rapid increase in the birth rate after 1945 and the admittance of five year olds to Victorian primary schools from 1946, together with the impact of Australia's immigration policies in the 1950s, compounded the legacy of severe economies in the 1930s and wartime labour shortages.

Despite the building of an average of 15 new primary schools each year and the addition of over 17000 new classrooms beyond that, between 1950 and 1970, classrooms were greatly overcrowded until well into the 1960s. Enrolments more than doubled from 186,000 in 1950 to 375,000 in 1972. (Blake, 1973:392) Between 1945 and 1960 it was difficult to recruit the number of teachers needed. Had it not been for the employment of temporary teachers hundreds of primary schools would have closed. During the early 1950s the situation was even worse in secondary schools.

The intensification of recruitment campaigns led to the award of bursaries, scholarships and studentships to thousands of senior school students, the employment of people with hardly any academic qualifications, the mounting of crash programs of teaching training, and the recruitment of teachers from overseas. Nevertheless, even in the early 1960s, there were still some primary classes of over 60 pupils (ABS 1984, 538) although the general staffing situation had improved to the point that some primary teachers could be transferred for duty in post-primary schools which were by then taking the brunt of the bulge.

The source of recruits for staffing the schools can be viewed in the perspective of two interesting dimensions - gender and socioeconomic status.

As 57 per cent of qualified teaching service personnel, women predominated only slightly over men in the teaching service of the Victorian Education Department in 1984 (Schwarz 1984, 13). Primary school teaching, on the other hand, is a traditionally female occupation. At the older primary teachers' colleges (Melbourne, Ballarat, Bendigo and Geelong) enrolments had always been predominantly female and while the proportion of male exit students increased slightly during the boom, when new primary colleges were opened at Toorak (1951), Burwood (1954) and Coburg (1959), women continued to make up 72 per cent of the primary teaching force which stood at almost 25000 in 1984 (Schwarz 1984). Of the 1852 temporary teachers in Victorian primary schools in the same year, 88 per cent were women. A similar profile is evident in the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America.

Although it is clear that primary school teaching remains a feminised occupation it is not so clear whether primary teaching is or really ever has been a route for social mobility. While there is some evidence that females from lower socioeconomic backgrounds attend universities and become secondary teachers, thus increasing both their economic and occupational status, the evidence in relation to primary teachers is extremely tenuous.

It appears, more from the general literature than any reliable or quantified data, that primary teaching has always provided an occupational niche for girls, in particular from middle socioeconomic levels. It was never as 'profitable' to be a primary college student (as against a secondary studentship holder). While it is likely that the proportion of the intake from lower socioeconomic groups increased during the late 1940s and into the 1950s simply because of the overall competition for labour during that period, and would always be likely to do so during phases of high demand for teachers, that does not appear to be a constant pattern. Despite the relatively low occupational status of primary teaching it has traditionally been an 'acceptable' occupation for women. Its status among feminised occupations has been relatively much higher than among occupations generally and possibly because of its association with traditional concepts of maternal responsibility for young children.

During the current period of low demand for primary teachers, with continuing high enrolment in courses preparing them the relative proportion of enrolments by gender does not appear to have changed significantly but there does appear to be some evidence that - at least in metropolitan colleges - the social profile of the student intake has shifted to favour those with lower socioeconomic status. The theory that primary teaching is a fail-safe route for the upwardly mobile therefore appears to be highly questionable. Even the vicarious mobility embedded in the 'catch a husband' motive cynically attributed to a certain proportion of female college students in the boom periods cannot stand up against the evidence that potential husbands were a bit thin on the ground in colleges with up to 87 per cent female enrolment!

Established women primary teachers in the Victorian Education Department have a tough row to hoe. The following much-reproduced table indicates the status and classification of men and women primary teachers in March 1984.

The structure shown in Table 1 represents a transition period between an old and a new career structure, hence the number of people shown as interim senior teachers, interim special and interim principals. These teachers were given from March 1982 to December 1984 to apply for positions in the principal class and Band 4 and sufficient positions were created for them to do so. (Memorandum to Principals and Head Teachers of Primary Schools. 'New Primary Career, Structure' from H.A. Nixon, Acting Director of Primary Education, 30 March 1982). Relative seniority within those classes was to be restored to those who obtained a position before 31 December 1984 but not after that date. One hundred and fifty-seven per cent of teachers had not (March 1984) adjusted their positions; 43 per cent are women and 57 per cent men. The bulk of these numbers consists of men in the interim senior teacher class.

TABLE 1

STATUS AND CLASSIFICATION OF PRIMARY TEACHERS, VICTORIA, 1984

Category	Men	Women	Women as % of Total in Category	Total in Category
Principal Grade A	313	92	23	405
Principal Grade B	415	58	12	473
Principal Grade 1 (Interim Senior Teacher)	5	1	17	6
Band 4				
(Interim Principal)	6	8	57	14
(Interim Special)	6	21	78	27
(Interim Senior)	96	10	9	106
Band 4	592	117	17	709
Band 3				
(Interim Senior Teacher)	3	1	25	4
(Head Teacher)	211	26	11	237
Band 3	972	636	40	1608
Band 2 (Head Teacher)	358	107	23	465
Band 2	1394	2808	67	4202
Band 1 (Head Teacher)	117	130	53	247
Band 1	2257	12215	84	14472
TOTAL: Classified Teachers	6745	16230	71	22975
Temporary Teachers	231	1621	88	1852
TOTAL	6976	17851	72	24827

Source: Policy and Planning Unit (1984) *Women in the Education Department of Victoria*, Education Department of Victoria, 18.

While Table 1 provides a recent picture of the distribution of men and women by levels, activities relating to the position of women within the primary division (as it once was) have been marked by three fairly discrete periods since the early 1960s.

1960-72 were years dominated by the move towards equal pay and the Teachers' Tribunal debate over the establishment of a Common Roll, that is, the abolition of two separate rolls for men and women and the

preparation of a joint roll which would classify male and female teachers in a combined rank order of seniority.

1972-75 was ostensibly a period of positive discrimination for women when a Teachers' Tribunal regulation was introduced to ensure that at least one of the three top positions in any Class A school had to be filled by a woman. It might have been reasonable to expect that this would have resulted in a significant number of women entering senior administration positions, and that the model of a woman as a primary principal would have become well established in the primary school community.

The final period, 1976-1985, covers the period of the introduction of the Equal Opportunity Act in Victoria, and the removal of sex tagging for the top three positions within Special Class schools. 1982 was a year in which great internal changes occured in the education department, and it was known that those who did not apply for promotion in 1982 would be severely limited in the next few years. The termination of the three divisions on 1 April 1983 meant that senior administration positions would be open to a wider number of candidates.

In September 1984 a letter sent by the Director of Personnel to all Regional Directors suggested that: 'management identify and encourage possible women applicants for future administrative vacancies in their branches'.

It would be generous to suggest that it may have been the 'maternal responsibility for young children' argument, rather than no argument at all, which led to determination to keep women in the classroom and have men do the administering of the primary school (not to mention the primary division and the education department itself). In any event, prior to 1972 the administrative and formal leadership of Victorian primary schools rested exclusively in the hands of male head teachers. Regardless of qualifications and teaching experience women were not eligible for appointment to the principalship, but were confined to the dizzy promotional level of infant mistress and would 'normally be regarded as the deputy principal' who would understudy 'him' while having major responsibility for the 'administration of the organisation and instructional program within the infant department' (Gazette 1972).

State governments, both Labor and Liberal, have actively worked towards changing regulations and the implementation of existing regulations to allow the appointment of women to principal positions. A change in the regulations in 1972 enabled women to apply for senior jobs; but contrary to expectations, as Veronica Schwarz points out, in 1984 'the distribution of male and female teachers (was) no better than in 1925 when artificial ratios were created to limit the number of women in senior positions' (Schwarz 1984). Shirley Sampson notes:

> that this paradox has occured at a time when most legal barriers to women's advancement in the Education Department have been removed - the marriage bar to permanency for women; separate rolls for males and females; entire loss of seniority after breaks in

> service for childbearing; males-only remote allowances and other perks - and all the positions are technically open to either sex.
> (Sampson, 1982)

While the Labor Party pledges itself, *inter alia*, to examine the 'more subtle factors' which are 'still at work keeping women from decision-making positions in schools', women appear to be becoming increasingly confined to classroom teaching and low level administration activities, and students continue to be conditioned by an authority structure which is dominated by men.

There appears to be awareness among researchers and sympathetic policy makers that despite legislative changes, government policy commitment and open gender access to principal positions, women are still not filling those positions in anything like the proportion of their representation in the profession. But a complex social system cannot be changed merely by introducing stimuli at particular points. It is like a tangled web of rubber bands. Relationships within it are intricate, elastic and capable of accommodating all sorts of pressures, yet retain their shape under the tension of many forces and counterforces and, of course, are very taut much of the time. It will be increasingly important and difficult, therefore, to continue to convince governments, educators, administrators and planners that women are still a disadvantaged group, that the removal of the most obvious legal impediments for women has not and will not remove structural discrimination and the effects of social conditioning which are the outcomes of a society in which men have been the ones who have framed laws, policies and programs; where men determine what is important and what is not; and in which men allocate resources. The neglect of pre-school child care and education in our society is a gross example of this.

As FitzGerald points out:

> 'Forming' the future has two equally important aspects: the bringing into operation of the things needed to reduce the 'equality gap' between the sexes, and the prevention of retrograde factors operating to widen the existing gap.
> (FitzGerald 1981)

Before the obvious imbalances explored above can be addressed by strategies for change it is necessary to seek explanations for them. Structural aspects of the system against which the imbalances are commonly assessed will also be questioned.

Although sociologists and educational administrators in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, particularly, have developed various models for the purpose there is clearly no single theory which can explain the differences in the representation of females and males in the senior ranks of school and tertiary administration.

Coleman (1978) has reviewed several attempts to theorize on this and has proposed three models which she labels as the Women's Place Model, the Discrimination Model, and Decision-Maker Model. A similar set of models is advanced by Shakeshaft (1986) who adopts the categories Role Congruity Model, Role Deficiency Model, and a Discrimination Model.

Weber, Feldman, and Poling (1981) in turn classify the theories under the headings of Personal and Social roles, Personal and Family Constraints, and Discrimination Patterns.

While there are many variants the models can be classified into three main types. The first stresses factors inherent to the individual and assumes that these factors can be generalised to explain why women do not pursue careers in educational administration. The second emphasises a role model for women, particularly within the profession of education, which shapes the expectation of women entering the field, leading them to focus on classroom teaching rather than on administration tasks. The final model highlights the impact that the organisation has on constraining the advancement of women from lower authority and low status positions through to the decision-making levels. While each model places an emphasis on one of the components it is necessary to reiterate that they all recognise the necessity to look at the interaction of other aspects. There is no one factor or group of factors which can be seen as the explanation for the continuing unequal distribution of senior administrative positions between men and women.

The Woman's Place Model

Kanter (1975-76) attributes the sex typing of occupations and professions to the fact that many occupations are nearly exclusively filled by members of one sex and therefore come to have a gender label assigned to them. The so-called 'helping professions' - education, social work and nursing - are grouped as areas where the number of females employed would be greater than the number of males. Within these professions there is a further distinction between male and female employment.

In an extension of Kanter's point, it is important to note that there is a vital connection between the social allocation of domestic roles to women and the sex differentials which operate in the workplace because the creation and perpetuation of separate labour markets has come out through the interaction of market forces, with attitudes prescribing 'proper' roles for men and women. The profile of the workforce amply illustrates this connection. Wherever one looks, not only in education, but in the professions, government, business and industry as well, the proportion of women rises as one moves down to the base end of the statistical measures. They are invariably under-represented at the executive and managerial levels. Thus, Frasher and Frasher (1979) suggest that women who teach are engaging in socially designated behaviours. Male teachers by a certain age are more likely to be in socially expected management roles.

The Woman's Place model argues that women also accept the difference in the roles because of the influence of socialisation processes. Few women have been exposed to role models of women in senior administrative positions in education. Estler (1975) notes that there is an absence of women from the faculty of educational administration courses in the United States Universities and Briggs and O'Brien (1984) have noted similarly for students in the Australian context.

The small number of women in the role of primary principals in the United States of America (20 per cent in 1973) and Western Australia (55 per cent in 1980) and Victoria (21 per cent in 1982), for example, may lend support to this argument. On the other hand there have been two principals of co-educatinal teachers' training colleges in Victoria - Ida Lowndes (Coburg Teachers' College from 1959 to 1975) and Alice Hoy (Principal of the Secondary Teachers' College from 1950 to 1957) so that there would have been a number of men and women who had been exposed to a woman in a senior administration role even at a time when women were denied direct access to principal positions of primary schools. Some women teachers, educated in non-government schools, would also have experienced the situation of seeing women as administrators. Nevertheless the total number of women acting as models in dominance positions has always been relatively small and is not likely to have been influential.

A key argument advanced by those who employ the Woman's Place Model is the supposed link between the declining number of women in senior administrative positions and the level of aspiration of women teachers, and the view that men tend to identify long-term career goals in education earlier in their employment than women. The stock answer to such an assertion is to ask whether the differential aspirations of men and women are an effect of limited opportunity or born of deliberate choice. The two are, of course, not separable: choice is determined in relation to perceived opportunity. Further, however, it is a glaring nonsense to argue that most women lack 'real ambition'. Very few men have a driving ambition sustained for years and decades which enables them to reach the top in their chosen fields. If around 10 per cent of males are high achievers, 90 per cent are not. A high proportion of the men who 'make it' have the support of what Kanter described as the 'women's auxilliary', whereas those few women who do attain senior positions do not appear to have the same level of support, (Gross and Trask 1976). Given that 'aspiration' is as conditioned as 'expectation', it is difficult to design any valid and reliable measure of what women could or would aspire to if they dared to dream! In this context it is also difficult to tease out in any macro sense to what extent the aspirations of women are in fact set by the particular conflict between 'career' and 'family' and whether or not women accept that their public and private domains are incompatible, the implication being that the two choices are mutually exclusive. The socialisation of girls is still heavily influenced by this dichotomy of choice and may be argued to influence their level of aspiration.

The Woman's Place Model is often associated with trait theories emerging from the Jungian animus/anima dichotomy. While the construct validity of such theories is questionable, there has been much discussion, of course, about the need to balance the so-called Alpha, or masculine leadership style with the Beta, a more feminine leadership style. The Alpha male power style is characterised as being more direct, aggressive and competitive, and based on a clear win or lose philosophy, whereas the Beta style, generally perceived as feminine, is based on synthesising, intuitive, qualitative thinking, more holistic than the Alpha style, and more concerned with the growth and quality of life.

It is sometimes argued that the Beta style is better able to deal with change, while the Alpha style focuses on the short range, perceiving change as chaotic or disruptive and relying on order to control it. It is not certain whether the argument extends to saying that men are structural functionalists while women are critical social theorists! As far as is known no studies have indicated that these behavioural tendencies are innate to one sex or another but it is clear that sex role expectations tend to polarise the behaviours.

In examining why some women in leadership appear to function just as ruthlessly as some men and why many younger women moving up in traditionally male dominated fields test higher than males in the dominant Alpha mode it has been hypothesised that women believe they have to assume male-associated attributes to ensure success. The syllogistic relationship is clear: success requires achievement oriented behaviour; achievement behaviour requires competitive behaviour. Competitive behaviour is a sublimated form of aggressive behaviour. Aggressive behaviour is regarded as unfeminine. Therefore success is regarded as unfeminine. Deveson reports Schwartz (a leader in Alpha-Beta research) as saying that this 'if you can't beat 'em, join 'em' syndrome would be dangerous to society:

> The current paralysis is in part a function of the dominance of the masculine style of leadership. If it continues to be the sole model of leadership available, it is likely to lead us increasingly in the direction of an authoritarian and homogeneous society. Balancing Alpha and Beta leadership, the male with the female in both men and women, is necessary to break the deadlock and to preserve a free and diverse society.
>
> (Deveson 1982,5)

Most commentators who argue thus would hasten to acknowledge the feminist axiom, Simone de Beauvoir's principle that the notion of 'femininity' itself is a fiction. There is no feminine nature, only a feminine situation which determines the character of its subjects. Irrespective of the nature/nurture argument, the reality that 'femininity' is a concept assented to by society, has to be confronted, although the term 'feminisation' is used to apply to a focus on a social change rather than personal characteristics.

Also associated with the Woman's Place Model are the fear of failure and fear of success theories. The fear of failure theory is commonplace. Horner (1968) postulates, however, that women avoid promotional moves because of their fear of success - a challenge to their own sexual identity in a field where they are competing with men. The argument is that women internalise the predominant social belief in respect to what is appropriate achievement for women in the workforce. In this way women themselves help to maintain the separation of roles. Needless to say, institutions also reinforce and perpetuate these differences.

The varieties of the Woman's Place Model tend to embody deficit assumptions: women are not equal to men because women are 'deficient' in certain abilities and skill possessed and valued by men. It is not particularly relevant in this argument whether the cause of the inequality is perceived to lie in the person or in her experience or both, for both represent a devaluing of women and 'assume that

dominant male mainstream culture is intrinsically more valuable than any other' (Gray 1984,16). Blaming the 'victim' detracts from the problems inherent in the nature of the organisation and may even have the effect of reducing the promotional mobility of certain groups to senior positions.

The Discrimination Model

It is the means by which the reinforcement and perpetuation of the separation of roles occur that constitute Estler's discrimination model. The structure of an organisation determines the constraints placed upon the promotional opportunities and determines who decides on the allocation of rewards.

A further explanation often advanced is that there is *de facto* positive discrimination in favour of the appointment of men in administrative positions. The status of women in social work, for example, demonstrates that while women account for two-thirds of the workforce there is a disproportionate number of men in administration and control-oriented jobs and a disproprotionate number of women in direct practice and care-oriented jobs. The jobs ascribed status as 'men's work', that is, policy and administration, are invariably paid more than those designated as 'women's work'. The parallel with primary teaching is obvious. The irony of the situation in social work, which also has some relevance to primary and pre-school education, is that men were encouraged to enter the profession in the hope that the image and status of the profession would be upgraded by removing the notion that social work is a 'woman's profession'.

It is apparent that both active and passive forms of structural discrimination operate against women to prevent them from gaining access to principal positions, largely because those who have been responsible for determining the eligibility of applicants for promotional positions are overwhelmingly men. There was not even one female district inspector in Victoria until 1976. It is also notable that from 1972 to 1975 attempts to introduce positive discrimination for women teachers was thwarted by moves initiated through the Primary Men's Branch of the Victorian Teachers' Union.

The discrimination model assumes that women cannot advance even if they want to and even if they have the qualifications and experience required to fill a position. While it is illegal in Australia to formally state barriers which are blatantly discriminatory in gender terms, it is apparent that the jobs held by most women workers in comparison with those of their male counterparts tend to have shorter chains of opportunity associated with them and to contain fewer achievement opportunities. Males, for the most part, still reserve the ability to distribute rewards. Those who associate with other power holders are in a stronger position to take advantage of favourable mobility prospects.

It is important to know (and for the information to be made public) whether there was an increase in the number of applications from women for administrative positions once the obvious discriminatory barriers were removed; and what was the composition of promotion committees in the Victorian Education Department. (Both authors think they have noted, however, a clear tendency on the part

of women on selection and promotion committees to be much tougher on their sisters than the males on the committees.)

The Meritocracy Model

The Meritocracy Model advanced by Estler is the obverse of the Discrimination Model and is predicated upon the assumption that the most competent people are promoted according to their ability. It would follow from this that males have filled the bulk of principal positions because they were more competent than women teachers (competence in the traditional education department sense being defined in Weberian terms relating to seniority, qualifications and performance, generally in that order). Where the most competent people are promoted or appointed on ability alone and there are no systematic barriers constraining members of any group from achieving a given goal, a truer meritocratic model exists.

It is clear that if the meritocratic model puts a high premium on performance, and performance in the classroom is the first hurdle for getting out of it, women should be much more heavily represented in administrative positions. According to Gross and Trask (1976) women principals were generally higher achievers than their male counterparts at secondary school and college. It is an arguable hypothesis that the average female student destined for the teaching profession is more able than the average male teacher student. Later, however, women probably tend to take more education and curriculum subjects rather than administration oriented courses.

The model also adopts a somewhat simplistic view of the sociology of organisations, the study of which seems to have largely overlooked the position of women in organisational structures. When an organisation is viewed as a large complex social unit in which many groups interact, gender can be seen as an important variable affecting the lives of groups. The gender composition of a group appears to have impact on behaviour around issues of power and leadership, aspirations, peer relations and the relative involvement or isolation of group members.

On the other hand the meritocratic model is non-sexist, incorporating respect for values and aspirations while seeking to eliminate sex bias. It does little, however, to suggest remedies for a situation where groups are suffering disadvantage. Gender-free concepts continue to advantage the beneficiaries of the *status quo*. Similarly, the suggestion (emanating from the Woman's Place Model in our classification) that women could be freed from the restriction of rigid gender-role stereotypes by accepting the androgynous view and taking on Alpha characteristics (and that men should adopt Beta characteristics), while gender inclusive insists that women become more like men and continues to represent devaluation of whatever it is that is different about women, irrespective of its basis, biological, psychological or sociological.

Conclusion

More affirmative or feminist models not sufficiently accounted for in Estler's examination recognise that the question of change is

political. As Spender (1983) argues, it is about power - who is to be valued, who decides - and the issue of power must be confronted. In this context, however, it is argued that liberation may be more significant than equality *per se* , and liberation requires a rejuvenation of the concept of power. Power is a fundamental category of all human experience but it is badly misunderstood and often taken to be an immoral chacteristic belonging to those who oppose or ignore the various forms of Judaeo-Christian ethics. It has become something of a bad word in western culture. Yet power is part of everyone's daily life, and we need to learn how to talk about power and to participate effectively in the various power relations in which we inevitably find ourselves (as parents, teachers, lovers, spouses, employees, employers, citizens, voters, group members and neighbours).

In other words, accessibility to our own aspirational construct is a freedom and much of the argument embedded in all of the models implicitly highlights the relationship between power and freedom. The attitudes which consign to power a negative meaning have undermined the social awareness and occupational responsibility of men and women alike. A clearer understanding of what power means in ordinary life, how it is related to acting freely and what it can contribute to a renovated ethics of organisational behaviour is critical to the success of a sustained program to improve the lot of women in education department schools. Women in particular must seek power over power, to influence decisions about who decides.

Power over power implies the possibility of changing what is considered to be important. It is argued that the so-called Beta or feminine characteristics - the different ways in which women as a result of experiental factors see and deal with the world and relationships - are of enormous value in all spheres of endeavour and particularly education. In any educational organisation, mutual understanding and agreement as to what the organisation's goals are and the means by which they are to be attained is at the core of administration and teaching.

The people who are best qualified to teach are those with the appropriate attitudes and skills for the task. There seems to be ready acceptance of the success of women in this task. Regrettably, however, there is not a career structure at the classroom level where outstanding teachers can be promoted to very senior levels in terms of both prestige and material reward. Rather, at this point 'the system' loses sight of its own purpose and things are organised in such a way that the further away from the classroom one gets, the more prestige and money one is likely to be accorded.

'Administration' in this absurd system is raised to a level of quasi-religious significance. There can be little question, however, that the best managers at any level are those with the most stake in the outcome. It is also axiomatic that those usually recognised as good managers share at least one common attribute: that is, a tendency to the view that it is not necessarily their job to make sound decisions but to see that sound decisions are made. The concepts of participation which are now prevalent in educational institutions are designed in an attempt to ensure that conditions of work are created where people understand the objectives, have a stake in the outcome

and where their ideas make a real contribution to the results obtained.

> This concept of participation is based on the notion that when people can think, when they have influence on outcomes, they support rather than comply or resist... The probability is increased that solutions achieved will be sound and fundamental, not needing constant review and revision. People are able to give the best of themselves, rather than seeking the best for themselves, as is often time when one's contributions are not sought.
>
> (Blake and Mouton 1964,144)

The 9.9 (most desirable and effective) managerial style identified by Blake and Mouton is, notably, that which is dependent upon those characteristics associated with the Beta or feminine type. The Weberian bureaucracy is in many cases, whether at the school or departmental level, dying on its feet. The slowness of schools and education systems to respond to the social and economic needs of the young can be laid at the same feet, that is, the bureaucracy with a heavy stake in the false security of the *status quo* which has provided rewards for the competitive, the tough-minded and the tenancious.

Thus, in terms of strategies a two-pronged argument emerges. Firstly, it has been suggested that administration is an occupation which is peripheral to the fundamental purpose of education and should be forced back into that position in decades to come. In other words administration should be organisationally redefined to redress the situation in which its social meaning and expansion have been in the interests of increasing the situational power of men and have implicitly denigrated the importance of teaching as a career.

Such an approach must be integrated with a rejuvenated concept of power and leadership resting heavily on ethics of personal and professional behaviour. Leadership must come from the central educational domain rather than the administrative periphery.

To achieve such changes will require considerable commitment and revolutionary discipline but if the goal remains clear and cogent while the old guard is gradually replaced the new order which is required for elementary justice will begin to emerge.

In promoting such changes, however, there now appears to be the danger of a potentially destructive element in the increasing popularity of androgyny as an 'answer' to the problems of the subjugation of women. While the concept is essentially neutral and has clear advantages in freeing people from traditional and rigid sex-role stereotypes it requires that women should be more like men. There is a strong case that men should be more like women and that society should concentrate on valuing the things women do and are.

Anne Deveson has stated that:

> men have disowned, and indeed are fearful of those qualities which they have relegated to women, the ability to be open and shut

> about emotions and feelings, the willingness to relate... Women have projected on the men responsibilities for decision-making, for being assertive, for taking action where action is required... It is hard for men to dare to be vulnerable.
>
> (Deveson 1982,6)

We would also have to admit to having little concern about jibes directed at 'token' women. Many women have and will start off in some areas as token representatives but at least get the opportunity to engage in the learning experience and many do become extremely effective despite the isolation they often feel. It is important whether a woman starts off as a token or not, for her to acknowledge when she is in a status position that it is not always easy to think like a woman in a man's world. She should not shed the female experience or discount hereself because her integrity resides in her being a woman, not an eresatz man, and that is important at times of inevitable confrontation.

Women, by virtue of their numbers and the removal of formal barriers to advancement do have the incipient power to change the face of the career structure in primary education. They must not be satisifed to have merely the rights associated with equal opportunity, but must claim and implement them.

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TEACHING - AN ATTRACTIVE CAREER FOR WOMEN?

Ann Scott and Eddie Clarke

Introduction

The argument put forward in this paper is that despite current high unemployment levels, if improved career paths are not offered to women within education, an overall decline in the quality of the teaching service is likely to take place.

Queensland is used as the case study upon which the argument is based, though there is little reason to believe that the Queensland experience is markedly different from that of other states.

The paper will draw on three main sources. First, a monograph written by co-author, Mr Eddie Clarke, historian with the Queensland Education Department, entitled *Female Teachers in Queensland State Schools 1860 - 1983: A History*. An overview of this paper will draw attention to some long-term trends in the employment of women teachers and their role in educational management in Queensland.

Second, a paper 'Contradictions, Ironies, and Promises Unfulfilled: A Contemporary Account of the Status of Teaching' by Gary Sykes, published in *Phi Delta Kappan*, which draws attention to some disturbing trends affecting the teaching profession in the United States.

Last, a hypothesis suggested by the Sykes paper, examining statistics contained in the Queensland Tertiary Admissions Centre's annual reports from the late 1970's, will be tested.

Women and the Teaching Profession in Queensland (based on Clarke)

The employment of women in the Queensland education system has been the subject of trends and influences which will be familiar to those concerned with patterns of employment of women. From constitutional separation from New South Wales in 1860 until 1875 the recruitment of women was relatively high because it was difficult to attract males into teaching. From about 1876 to 1880 more males were available so the recruitment of women dropped. From 1881 to about 1890 the Colony underwent rapid expansion and the range of openings for males resulted in the education system again depending heavily on the recruitment of females. There was a period of general stagnation during the Depression from 1891 to about 1894. Although this led to an increase in the recruitment of males, the education system itself was expanding so rapidly that female recruitment did not suffer. This was followed by a period of recovery, then growth until the outbreak of the First World War.

The First World War saw an increase in the role of women within the education department, including an increase in the number of female classified teachers. A period of expansion followed, until the Great Depression in the 1930s, when there was again a decline in the number of women teachers employed.

The Second World War served to break the pattern established during the Depression and 1940 marked the re-employment of married women on a temporary basis reversing a regulation made in 1902 requiring women to resign when they married (which had consolidated an existing social practice). This reversal culminated in a provision for the permanent employment of married women in 1969.

Teaching was an attractive occupation for women during the nineteenth century.

> While some encouragement was given to women to occupy professional positions, teaching was the only profession generally available to women. They were just beginning to enter medicine in the 1890's, which at the time was not regarded as a respectable profession for women. Other professions continued to exclude women, and the public service remained closed to females until 1902 when women were permitted to enter the lowest echelon.
>
> Consequently, working class and middle class females with intellectual ability were interested in the teaching profession. It provided, in the patriarchal society of the time, a respected, if not prestigious, position in society before marriage and a permanent occupation for those who chose not to marry or who had become the sole bread-winners of a family.
>
> (Clarke 1985)

However, the employment and promotion practices which existed in the nineteenth century were not particularly favourable to women. The Queensland education system at this time depended on three levels of teacher: the provisional (or unclassified) teacher, the pupil-teacher, and the certified teacher.

Provisional Teachers

Provisional schools were first established in 1869 to cater for an average attendance of between 12 and 20 students. These schools usually operated until a state school was established. The system of staffing provisional schools operated against the interests of women. Provisional school teachers had little or no educational qualification, were unclassified, and therefore not on the promotion ladder. District inspectors reported that these women were superior to the men. One asserted that female teachers were better adapted to the work of small provisional schools than males, and the department intended to replace the men with women as opportunities arose.

However, when the enrolment of a provisional school rose above an average attendance of 30, the (female) provisional school teacher was replaced by a married male classified teacher (who was provided with an official residence). The majority of the women so displaced were offered the opportunity of employment in a small community elsewhere.

The department became heavily dependent on provisional school teachers. Between 1892 and 1902 the percentage of provisional teachers ranged from 22 to 26 percent of all teachers in the Department. Initially they had mainly been men, but the percentage of women quickly rose (see Table 1).

In 1909, changes in educational regulations reduced the number of provisional schools, but after this there was little change in the number of provisional schools (about 60) until the 1960s when they were phased out. Most of the former provisional schools became small, one-teacher state schools. Many remained under the control of unclassified teachers, most of whom were female. During World War I, with a teacher shortage, the department increased the percentage of female unclassified teachers.

Pupil Teachers

From early on, females formed a majority of pupil-teachers. Many head teachers gave the large classes in the lower level of the school to pupil-teachers, while the assistant teachers took small classes in the upper school. Thus, in the early 1870s, 70 per cent of pupil-teachers were female and assistant teachers in the upper school were nearly always male.

But the percentage of female pupil-teachers fluctuated significantly between the period 1860-1900. Decreases in the proportion of female pupil-teachers tended to coincide with the slowing down in the increase of the school population (1875-1880) and with the Depression after 1891. Because job prospects were so poor, the department was able to employ more males during the Depression and so decrease the proportion of female pupil-teachers.

Classified Teachers

Once pupil-teachers had completed their examinations they became classified teachers. The heavy dependence on female provisional teachers was reflected in the smaller percentage of classified female than classified male teachers (see Table 2).

Promotion was based on passing examinations and receiving satisfactory reports from inspectors. Until 1899 females doing at a lower standard than the males and were not required to study mathematics.

A much lower percentage of females than males went on to pass the Class II and Class I examinations. Amongst a variety of explanations put forward for this from various sources, it was suggested that males had many more head teacher posts available to them as an incentive. This question of incentive will be discussed later in the paper.

The curriculum differences were eliminated in 1898, when algebra and Euclid were added to the primary curriculum, and female teachers had to update their knowledge by studying mathematics in their own time at technical colleges. Despite the fact that the female pupil-teachers now had to cover more in their training than did the males (who were still not required to learn to sew), they still managed to obtain better examination results than the males. This may have been because the brighter females had fewer occupational choices than the males and greater numbers of females were attracted to teaching.

In 1890 a policy was established not automatically to employ pupil-teachers on completion of examinations, thus enabling positive discrimination in favour of males. Through the period between 1902 and 1940 the department aimed, with varying degrees of success, to restrict the employment of female teachers to a certain percentage. This target figure varied from 33 per cent in 1910 to 40 per cent in 1928. To achieve this, the department continued to discriminate in favour of male entry when a policy of upgrading entry requirements was begun in 1920. Scholarships to the new teacher training college (established in 1914) favoured males, as had an earlier system for training secondary school teachers. While males did not always take up the places reserved for them at the college, especially in the 1920s, there was strong competition between women applicants who, as student teachers, tended to be more academically able.

After 1920 the percentage of female classified teachers rose at a faster rate than the males. From 1920 to 1940 the percentage of classified females rose from 52 per cent to 88 per cent and the percentage of classified males rose from 72 per cent to 92 per cent.

Salary Differentials

Females were paid at a different salary from their male counterparts. In the period up to 1902 the majority of females received between 50 and 80 per cent of the male salary rate, with the exception of the wives of men in charge of small mixed schools who received no direct payment for assisting their husbands.

In 1874 an official explanation for retaining the differential included the following:

> The equalisation of the salaries could only be done by augmenting those of the females, or diminishing those of the males; the latter would be unwise, the former is impracticable - the cost of maintaining our educational institutions would thereby be increased by about one-third. The present generation of the stronger sex will therefore, I fear, prevent any serious action designed to regulate the matter contrary to the law of supply and demand.
> (General Inspector of Board of General Education, A.R. Campbell)

In 1900 the Minister of Education told a delegation of women seeking a salary increase that while it was cruel to talk about the law of supply and demand, he could find no other way of describing the situation. Because a teaching career was not sufficiently attractive to young men, the department had set males' salaries at a higher rate.

But neither the majority of women teachers nor the teachers' union supported the minority who sought equal pay. Indeed, a leading article in the *Queensland Education Journal* in 1900 opposed it.
However women did react when the differential between male and female salaries was changed, increasing the disadvantage of female teachers.

> This change took place in 1898 when the salaries of male assistant teachers were raised but the salaries of female assistant teachers remained unchanged. When the women tried to stir their Union (QTU) into action, they initially had a lethargic response. A study of the Union's Journal, the *Queensland Education Journal* of 1900 leads to the conclusion that the editor was not sympathetic towards the women's cause. He dared them to fight, but his tone suggested that he did not believe they would.
>
> (Clarke 1985)

When the women became more militant, the journal quickly became more supportive on the issue, as did the union as a body. After the women had demonstrated an independent spirit, the journal exhorted them not to disregard the union.

The equal pay issue was not resolved for half a century. In 1967 the issue went before the Industrial, Conciliation and Arbitration Commission which ruled that equal pay should be introduced. This was phased in over the next four years.

Throughout the period 1904 to 1939, the policies of the department of Public Instruction were strongly influenced by J D Story, a public servant prominent in education over many decades. Story was appointed to inquire into the reorganisation of the public service and in so doing stated that women should fill the lower jobs:

> The higher positions should be filled by males for economic and administrative reasons, and because of their family responsibilities.
>
> (Clarke 1985)

The Department of Education followed the course of action advocated by Story. Women were restricted wherever possible to the lower rungs of the public service and males benefitted from positive discrimination, even in the lower rungs.

Significant changes in the pattern of employment of women in the education service in Queensland have taken place recently. From the 1960s improved conditions, especially for married women, have led to more women undertaking teaching as a life-long career. For example, since 1969, married women have been entitled to apply for permanent status.

However, during the last four decades there has been a reduction in the number of small primary schools and an increase in the number of large primary schools. This has created strong competition for the direction of the one-teacher school, the lowest rung in the promotional ladder. Up to the 1930s a majority of these schools had females in charge. By 1980 this situation had changed completely. Of the 111 Class VI (one-teacher) schools, only 15 had female principals.

Furthermore, the precedent established in 1976 allowing women to be appointed to the position of principal of a mixed high school has not led to a significant increase in the number of women in such positions.

Recent changes in employment policies have thus resulted in equal pay. They have also contributed to the alteration of employment trends observed in past depressions and recessions. During the current recession, the percentage of female teachers employed has risen instead of falling, and the percentage in 1983 (60 per cent) has been surpassed, since 1860, only in four other years, those between 1918 and 1921.

However, the percentage of principals' positions occupied by females, which gradually declined after the 1880s has continued to decline during the last decade, even though fewer impediments to female promotion appear to have existed over this decade. Paradoxically, the recent gradual elimination of the categories of male and female positions of responsibility within the Department of Education has operated more to the advantage of males. Furthermore, no female has yet risen above the rank of inspector, the first one having been appointed in 1919 (see Table 3).

The Underlying Assumption

One of the major assumptions underlying the employment of teachers has been that while males have to have positive inducements to join the profession, similar incentives have not been necessary for females, who choose teaching *faute de mieux*, because of the absence of satisfactory alternatives. Other incidental lessons can be drawn both from the reluctance of the union to be drawn into the struggle for greater equity, and from the reluctance of many women themselves to be similarly drawn.

The question might also be asked as to why the promotion of women into management positions has actually declined while so many other inequities have been eliminated.

If the trend of low promotion rates among women continues three effects may be expected: first, the morale of those women of high ability already in the teaching profession is likely to decline, and low morale may well lead to a lowering of teaching effectiveness; second, education systems will be likely to lose women with high administrative ability because of better opportunities elsewhere; third, the evident lack of career prospects will discourage the most able women from entering the teaching profession.

The United States of America (based on Sykes)

While bearing in mind this apparent decline in opportunity for career advancement for women within the Queensland education system, an assessment will be made of the current state of the teaching profession in the United States of America, put forward in the article by Sykes.

Sykes sees the teaching profession in the United States as imperilled. He bases his assessment on the analysis of three topics: the teaching occupation and its position in the US occupational structure; the institutionalisation of teacher education in the multipurpose university; and the prevailing view of the relationship between knowledge and practice in teaching. It is the analysis of the

position of the teaching profession in the occupational structure in the United States which may have significant parallels in Australia.

The picture Sykes portrays of the development of the US teaching service is similar to that in Australia. The largely feminine workforce during the period from 1840 to 1950 'was characterised by high turnover and low salaries'.

> Recruitment and work rewards, together with a unique position in the occupational structure, combined to supply the necessary members. Teachers gave up income and advancement opportunities in return for the fulfillment of ideals related to service, a convenient work schedule, and a certain esteem (albeit shadowed) tendered by the community.
>
> (Sykes 1983, 88)

He lists other characteristics, then concludes:

> Finally, the critical - though hidden - element that kept the teacher workforce adequate in size was the blocked career path for educated women and minorities.
>
> (Sykes 1983, 88)

Sykes continues by identifying a series of trends which has upset the balance of attractions and circumstances that served in the past to attract teachers. In particular, two of these trends are significant.

First, the loss of occupational prestige:

> No longer the best-educated members of many communities, teachers feel an intangible but nonetheless real loss of standing, especially in the eyes of their college-educated peers. Some unpublished evidence indicates that, between 1963 and 1980, public school teachers suffered a greater loss of occupational prestige than any other occupation in the study.
>
> (Sykes 1983, 88)

Sykes does not mention the additional loss of esteem resulting from the persistent and frequently ill-considered attacks on teacher competence, attacks which appear to have become increasingly politically acceptable in the United States as well as Australia. Rather than facilitating improvements in teaching, these attacks serve further to deter able people with alternatives open to them from choosing teaching as their career. The currently fashionable *non sequitur* that education systems are to blame for the high level of youth unemployment can only add to this decline in the attraction of teaching as a career.

The second point, that women and minorities (principally negroes in the United States) suffered blocked career paths elsewhere, is the one which led to the investigation of recent patterns of course choice

in Queensland which follows. Historically, men have had alternative career choices, and the education system had to compete with these alternative choices in order to retain able male teachers. Sykes draws attention to the effect of the recent broadening of occupational choices for women:

> The occupation of teaching (now) stands little chance of attracting the academically talented. Although the standardised test scores of teachers have always been low, the decline in these scores between 1972 and 1980 has been somewhat steeper than the national average. Studies show that scores among women in teaching have declined in particular, a situation that is probably related to the expansion of career opportunities for bright females. Another study reveals that the proportion of high scorers in teaching has declined markedly - evidence that the cream is being skimmed.
>
> As a broader range of careers has opened up for these groups and as pressures on women to work have increased, the best and brightest among college-educated blacks and women have turned to more lucrative and more prestigious careers than teaching - careers that were denied them until recently. Ironically, social progress has taken a heavy toll on the occupation of teaching.
>
> (Sykes 1983, 88-89)

Trends in the Queensland 'Occupational League Table'

Since 1980, the Annual Reports of the Queensland Tertiary Admissions Centre, have separated out statistics on female applicants. They were examined to see what courses the most able females were choosing and whether there were any trends evident which might support Sykes' thesis that the most able women were increasingly choosing other career options than teaching.

In particular, those courses which were unlikely to be followed by a Diploma in Education, and thus the least likely to eventually lead to school teaching were examined. The trends in social work enrolments were also perused, in the light of Sykes' assertion that teaching, nursing and social work no longer enjoy a monopoly on the powerful occupational motivation of service careers that promise meaningful work with and for others. These were compared with education course intakes.

Table 4 demonstrates what can only be described as the institutional league table, based on the choice of institution by Tertiary Entrance Score. From this one can see that the University of Queensland tends to cream off the most able students, having a minimum entry of 880, and a concentration of students in the 900s.

Table 5 provides the mirror image graph of percentage enrolments in the University of Queensland, male and female. The percentage of women has risen steadily since 1950 (when the figures on which this was based started), to 1982-84 where enrolments have not been far short of 50 per cent.

Table 6 shows the increase in the percentage of women enrolled by faculty. From this it will be seen that while the percentage in education has increased and in social work has remained steady, there has also been a considerable rise in faculties such as medicine, law and veterinary science.

This can be compared with the median tertiary entrance score, by course rather than by faculty (Table 7). For the sake of comparison some courses outside the University of Queensland are included as they appear to conform to a general trend. From this one can see how the occupational league table looks, with medicine consistently taking the highest ability students, followed by pharmacy, arts/law, engineering and law. What is particularly significant about this table is that the social work median tertiary entrance (TE) score has dropped, as has the B Ed Studies. Commerce degrees both at James Cook University and at the University of Queensland have been able to demand an increasingly high TE score, whereas the education courses appear to be lowering their TE requirements.

Tables 8 and 9 give the numbers of women enrolled in a range of courses during 1980-84. These also seem to confirm the impression that the most able female students now consider that other careers may hold more promise than the teaching profession.

The tertiary entrance score is a measure of secondary school achievement, expressed in an aggregate score. It does not represent a form of standard intelligence test as does the *American Scholastic Aptitude Test*. Looking at TE scores indicates which courses the best secondary achievers are rating highly. It may be that there are complex explanations for these trends which contradict this interpretation. However, when figures to corroborate Sykes' point were sought, they were found very easily.

There are also indications that this is probably a general problem within Australia. The *Beazley Report* records that, in Western Australia, teaching is attracting a lower entrance score than the other professions, and the recent Commonwealth report, *Quality of Education in Australia*, also alludes to the problem of declining quality in teacher recruits.

The purpose of presenting the figures is to lend support to the suggestion that education systems, though faced with the dilemma of increasingly tight funding, cannot afford to ignore the potential decline in the intellectual ability of its recruits. Despite current high unemployment levels it is no longer safe to assume that the most able women will be entering the teaching profession. The supply and demand arguments which have traditionally been used to support applying different employment policies to men and women should be reconsidered.

Sykes asserts that recent developments have 'irreversibly undercut the relative attraction of teaching; the only recruitment resource that remains is a working schedule fitted to the demands of childrearing and affording ample opportunity for recreation'.(page 89)

It may have been realistic to recognise, as did the Queensland General Inspector Randal MacDonnell, in 1865, that:

> While the teaching profession opens an honorable and profitable career (perhaps the only one in this country) to educated women, it is by no means so attractive either in its immediate gains or in ultimate pecuniary prospects, to young men who ... can turn a moderate education to better account in the banks and offices of the city.

If those currently administering the education system are not alert to the dangers, more and more young women may also turn a moderate education to better account in the range of careers now offering to them. While it will always be possible to recruit some female teachers, without the expectation of equitable career prospects ahead of them it may prove increasingly difficult to recruit the most able women to teaching.

Teaching appears to be slipping down the occupational league table for females as well as males. If this trend is allowed to continue it may contribute towards setting Australian education on what Sykes describes as 'the downward spiral in quality'. It is therefore as important for the quality of education as it is for the principle of equity, that women's prospects in educational management in primary and secondary education be re-evaluated.

In the interests of the quality of the teaching service it is essential to ensure that women perceive teaching as offering a career which provides recognition for academic, teaching and administrative ability in which the opportunities for advancement are palpably as available to able women as to able men. Rather than saying "this is not fair" perhaps we should be saying "this is unwise".

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Clarke, E. (1985) *Female Teachers in Queensland State Schools 1860-1983 - A History*, Policy and Information Services Branch. Department of Education, Queensland.

Karmel, P. (chairperson) (1985) *Quality of Education in Australia: Report of the Review Committee*. AGPS, Canberra.

Sykes, G. (1983) 'Contradictions, Ironies, and Promises Unfulfilled: A Contemporary Account of the Status of Teaching', *Phi Delta Kappan*, October, 87-93.

TABLE 1

PROVISIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS, QUEENSLAND, 1873-1908

In 1909, the number of Provisional Schools was reduced to about 60, the others being re-classified as State Schools.

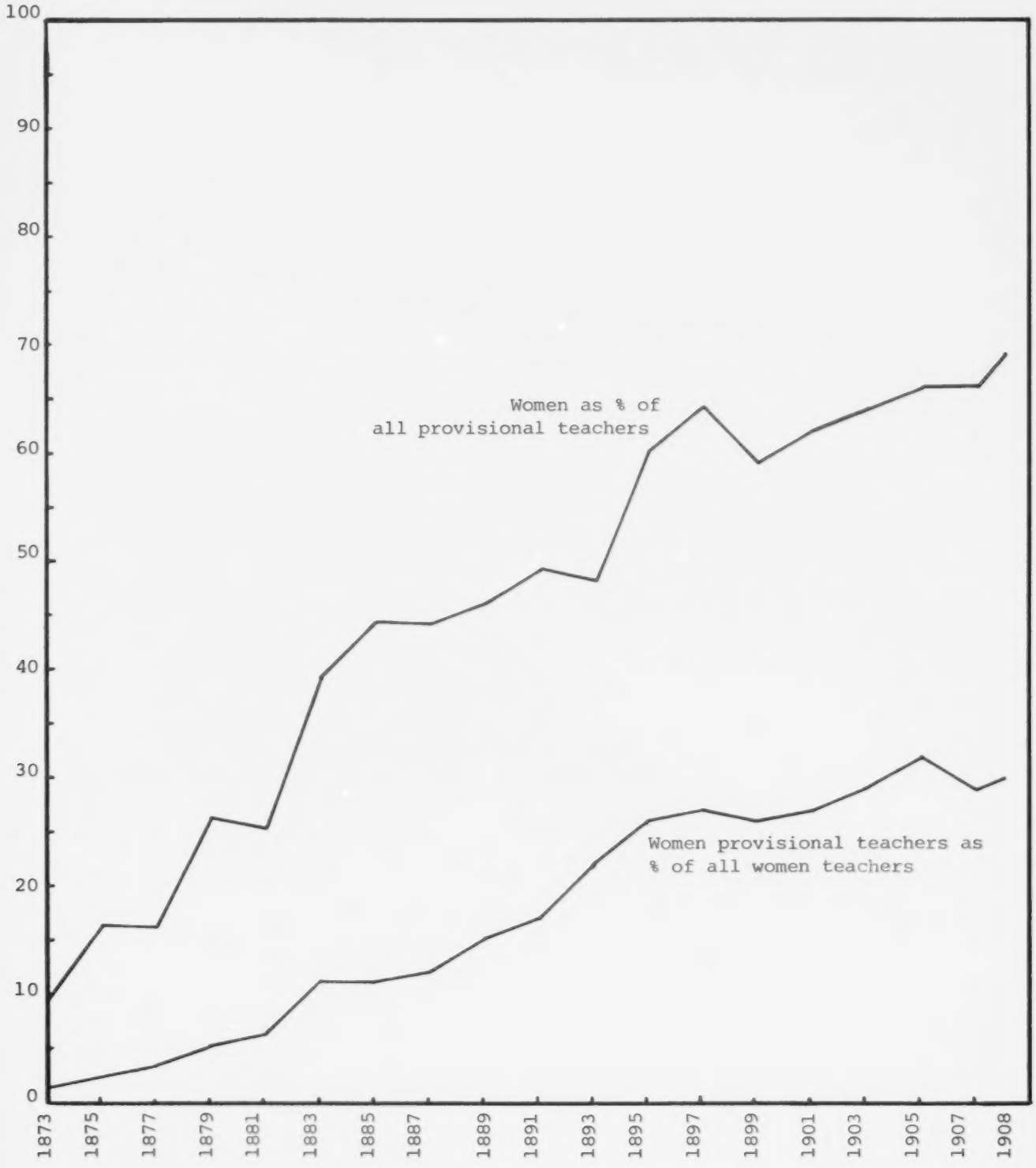


TABLE 2

CLASSIFIED TEACHERS: 1860-1945

After 1946 the number of Classified Teachers continued to rise until it reached 100%

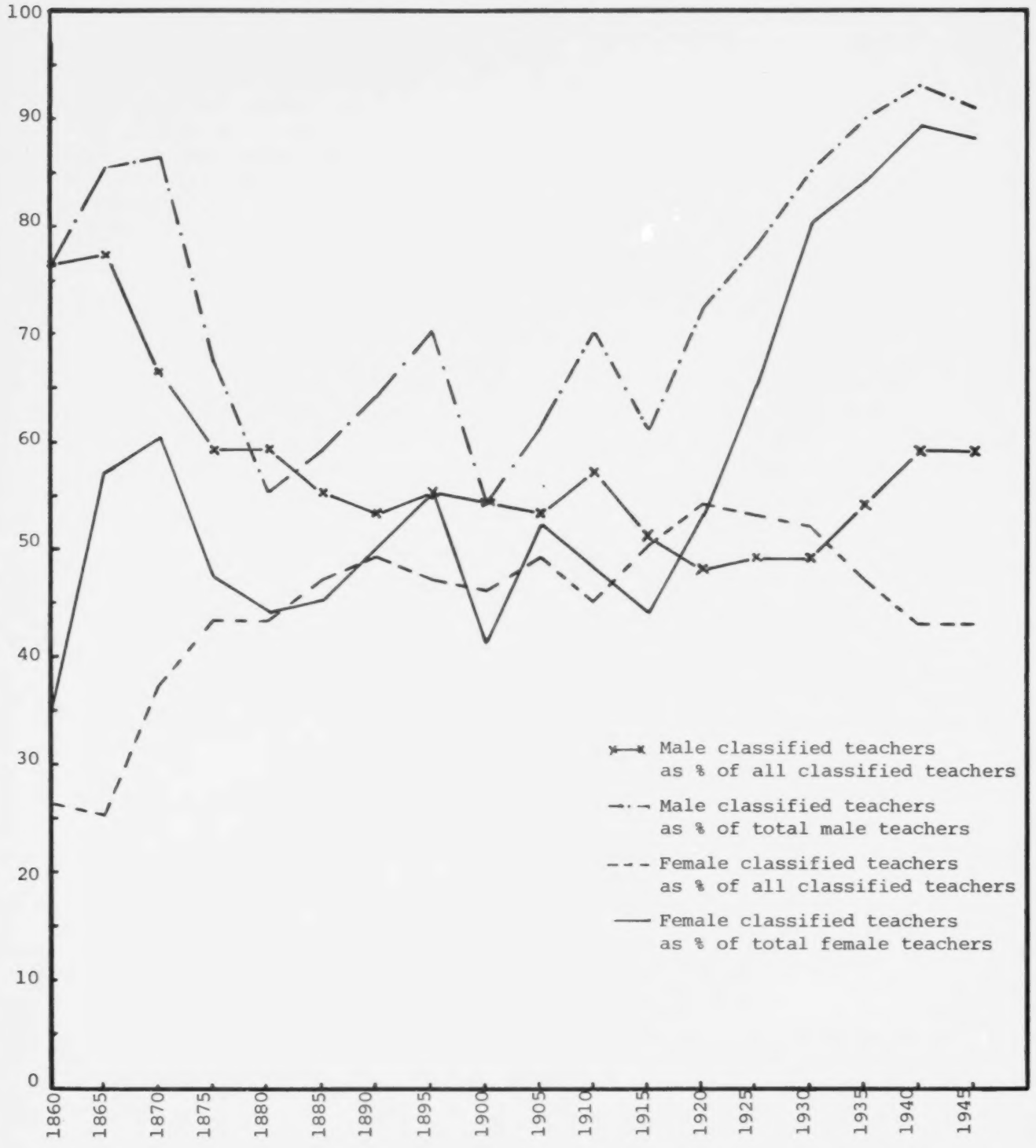


TABLE 5

MALES AND FEMALES AS PERCENTAGE OF ENROLMENTS
UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND, 1950-84

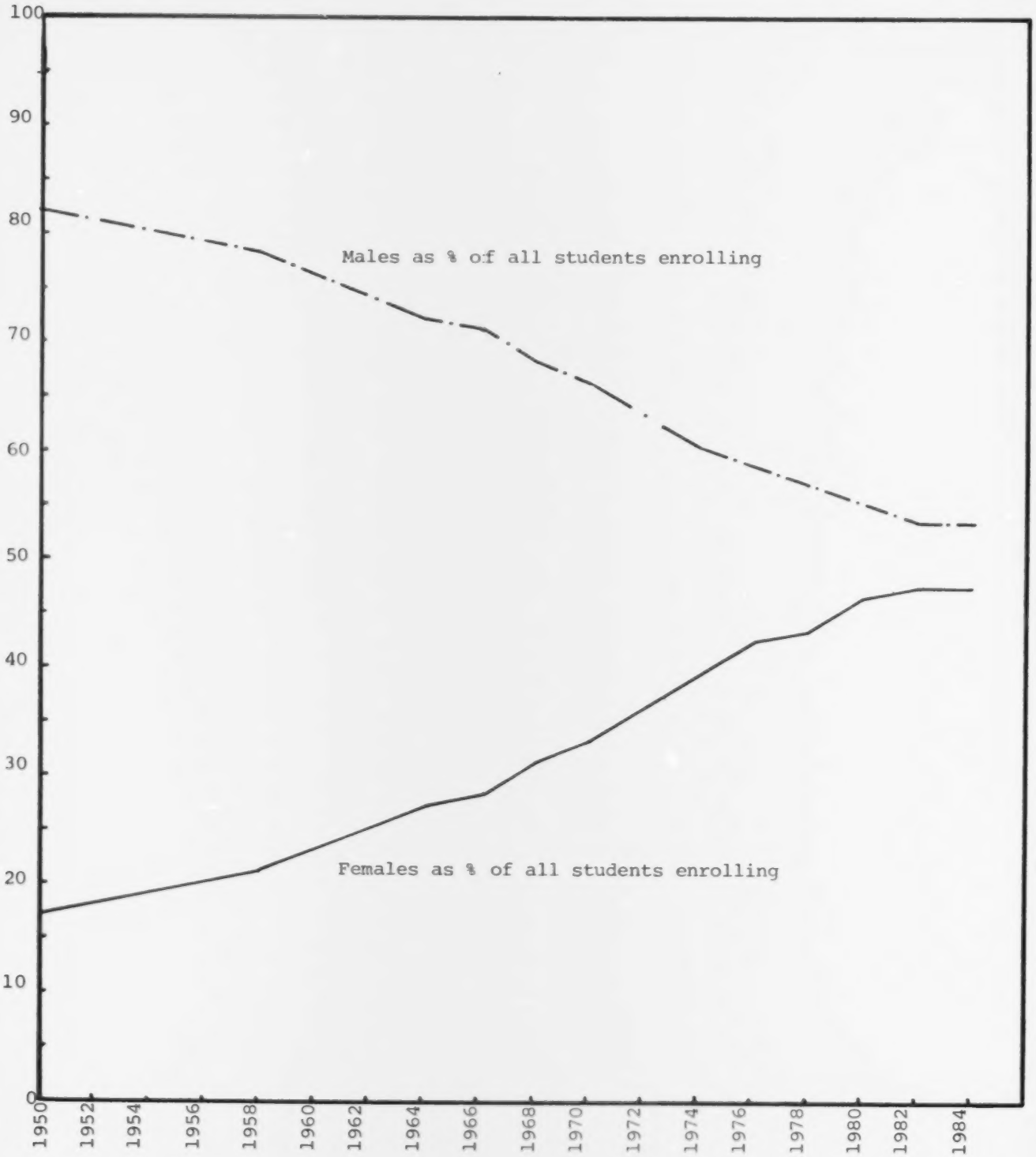


TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENROLLED BY FACULTY (NOT COURSE)

UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND, 1930-84

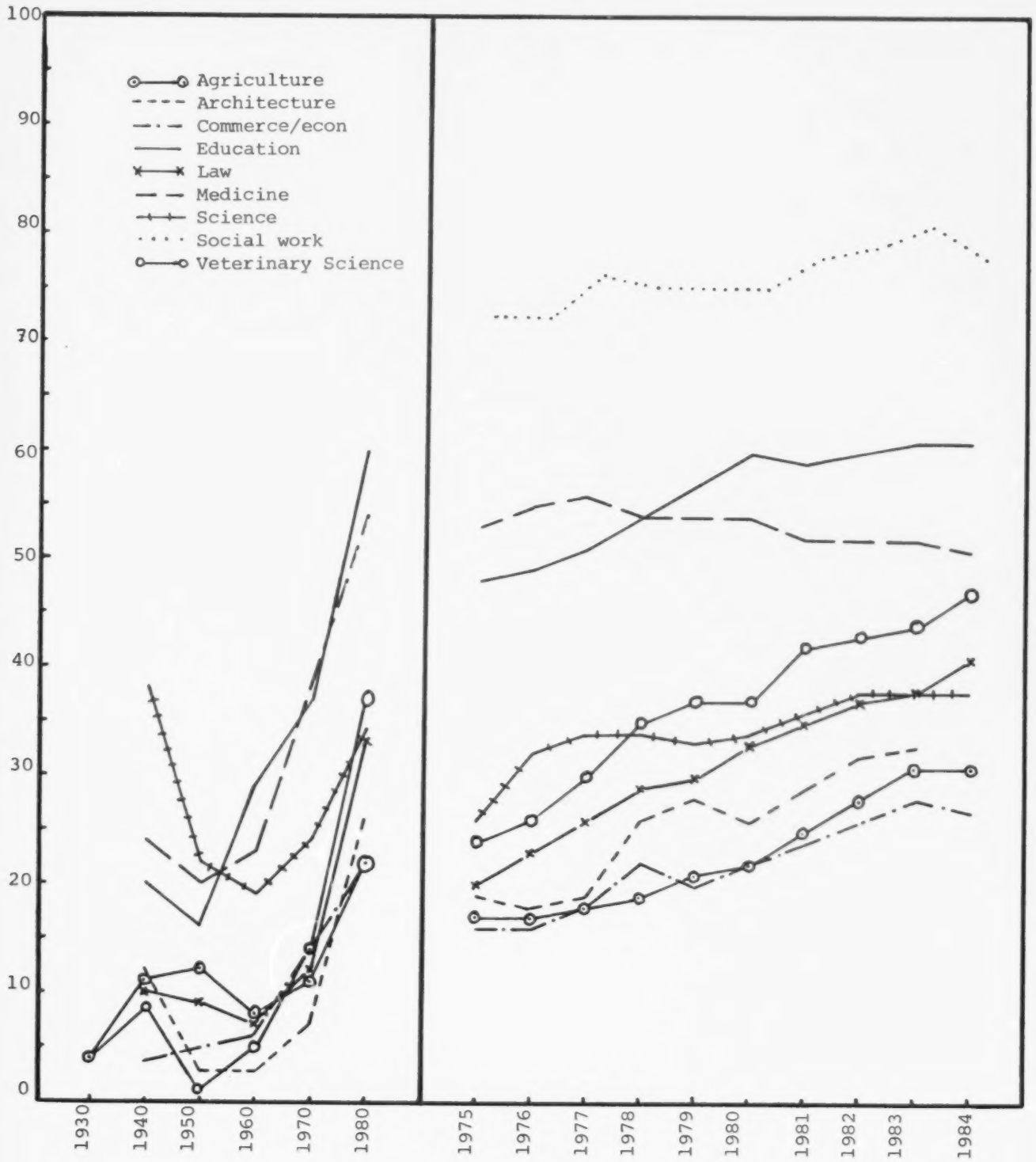


TABLE 7

MEDIAN TERTIARY ENTRANCE SCORE FOR SELECTED COURSES, QUEENSLAND INSTITUTIONS, 1980-84

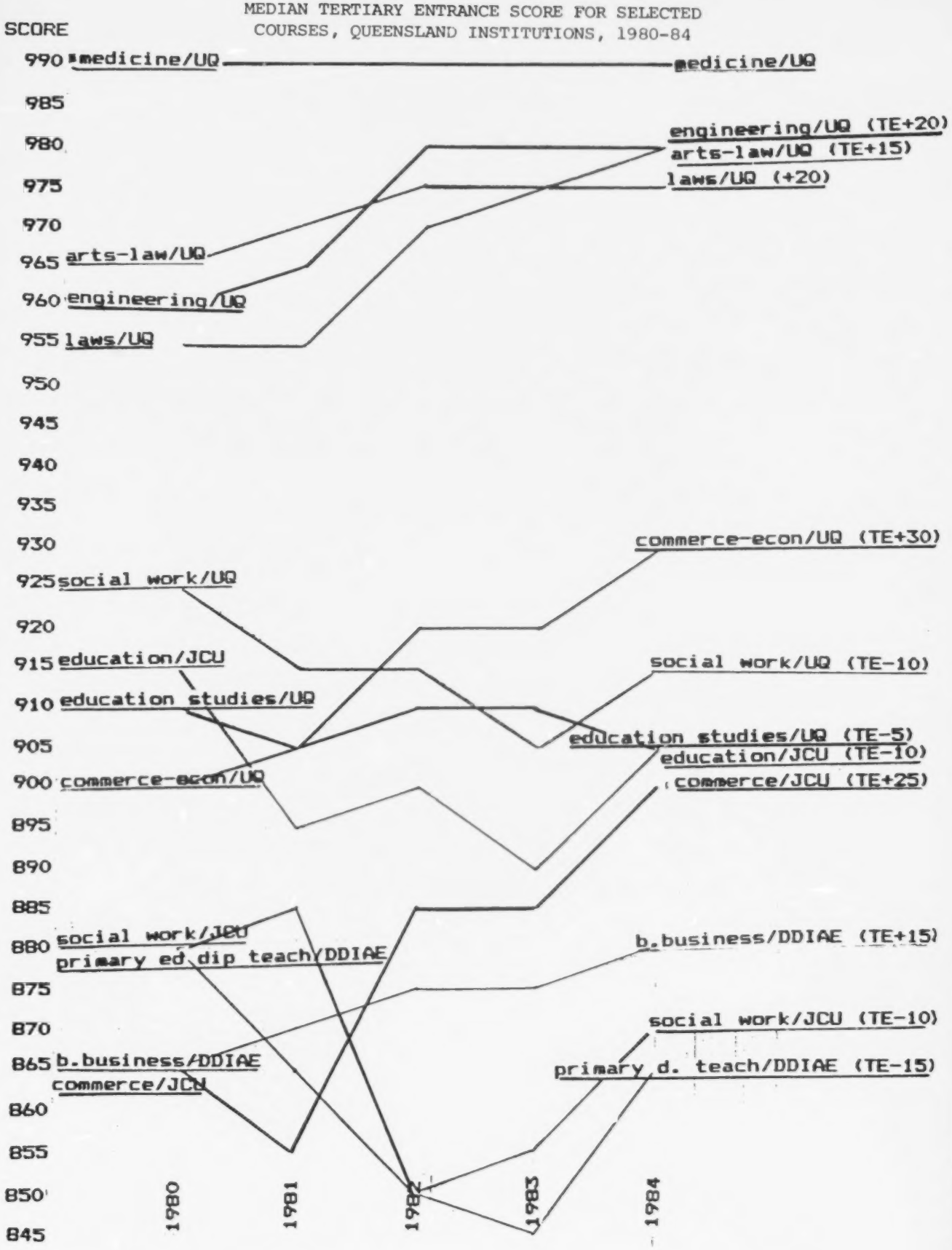


TABLE 8

NUMBER OF WOMEN ENROLLED IN SELECTED COURSES, UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND: 1980-1984

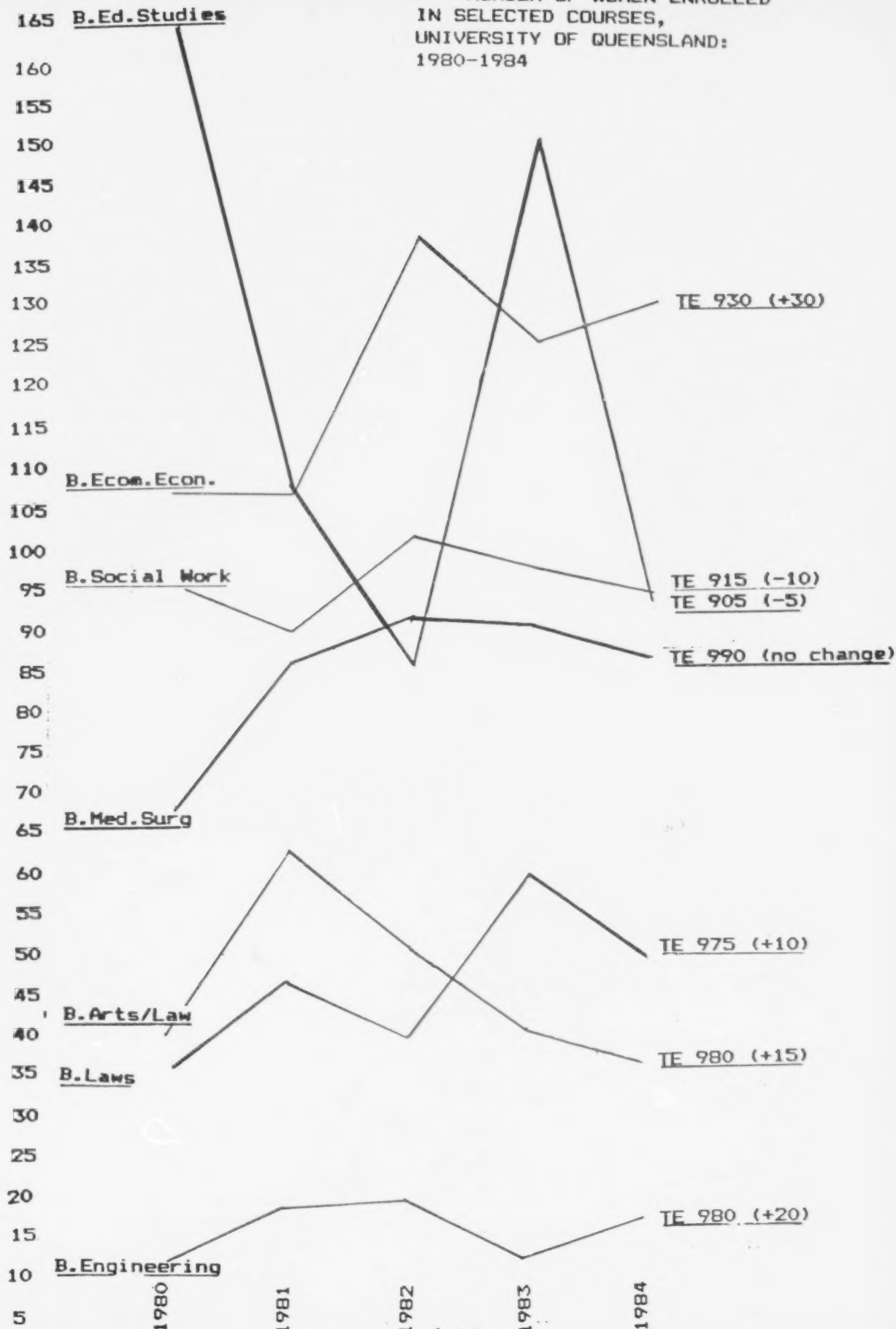
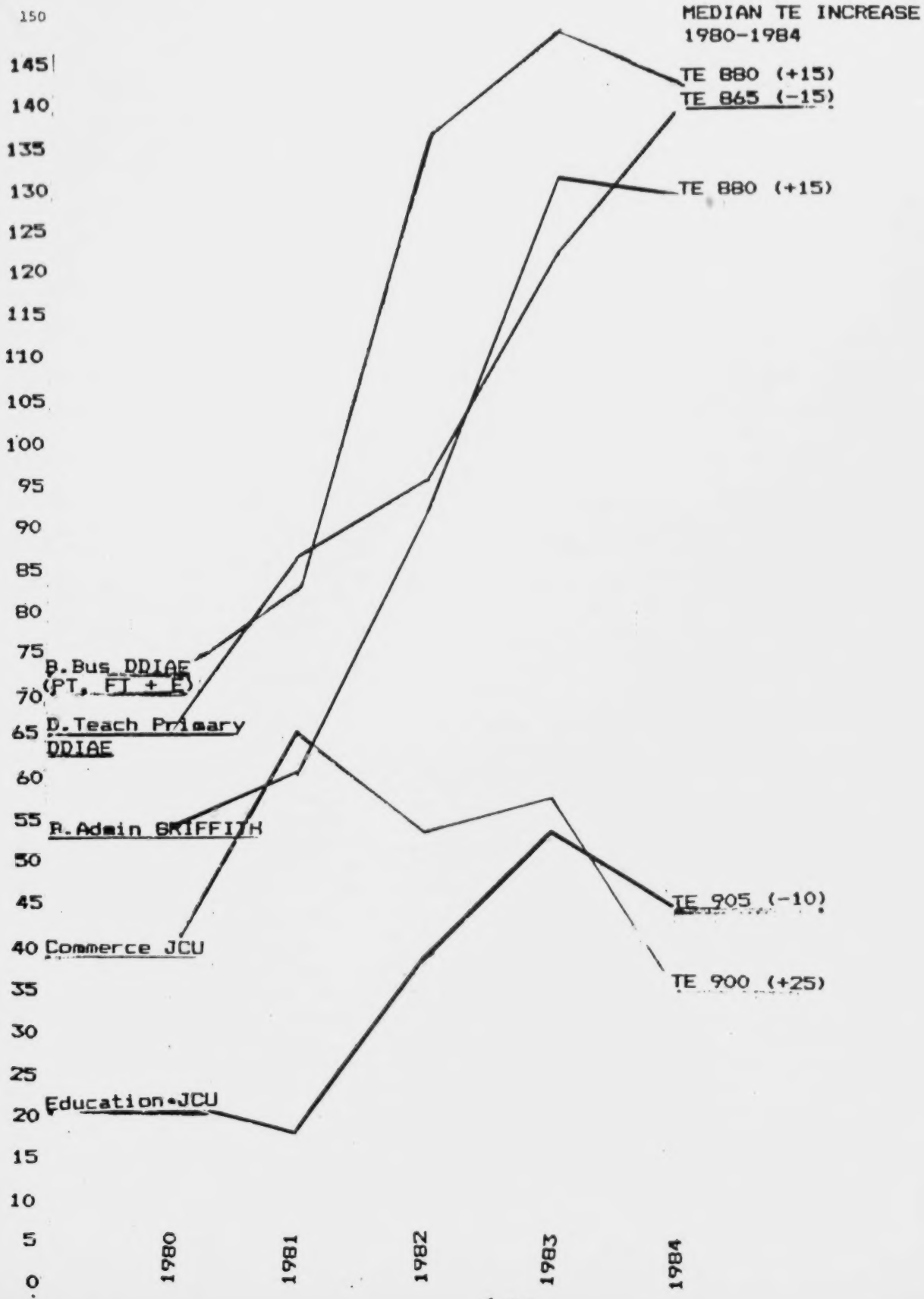


TABLE 9

NUMBER OF WOMEN ENROLLED IN SELECTED COURSES, JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY, GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY AND DARLING DOWNS INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION: 1980-1984



THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

John Steinle

It would be gratifying in a parochial way to be able to claim that 'the South Australian experience' for women in primary and secondary education is remarkably different from the current *status quo* in other states but that is not the case. The South Australian system has carried a similar historical and cultural burden and it is only comparatively recently that the evidence of that burden - our structures and attitudes - has been challenged by equal opportunities philosophy.

In South Australia the education system's efforts to remove structural barriers and discriminatory practices is done in the context of an overall government policy to promote equal opportunity. In this regard, the department has been at the forefront in the promotion and implementation of that policy, mainly because of the calibre of the leadership in the Women's Advisory Unit established in the mid-seventies.

The department has been fairly diligent in the past decade to remove overt discriminatory barriers to women's participation on an equal basis in the workforce. Both the *Sex Discrimination Act* and changes in departmental policy have been instrumental in this regard.

There have been some important achievements in removing structural barriers to women's opportunities for promotion in schools but, partly because of the overall squeeze on resources and promotional opportunity, at this stage there has not been a significant rise in the number of women occupying managerial positions at the school level.

The structural changes which have been introduced include:

- The introduction of 'open' positions. Over 50 per cent of advertised principal and deputy principal positions are not filled through the inflexible 'order of promotion' system. This means that any person who has been assessed as eligible may apply for these positions.

- If teachers take leave of absence for child-rearing purposes and they are eligible for promotion their years of absence are now counted towards eligibility.

- There has been a five-year exemption from the *South Australian Sex Discrimination Act* to allow women to enter secondary deputy positions. This is positive discrimination towards a more balanced gender profile in the leadership of secondary schools. It does, however, depend on a demand coming from the school community for exemption.

- There is a policy of permanent part-time teaching, which gives flexibility to people with child-rearing and other commitments, without forcing a break in service.

TABLE 3

PRINCIPALS (HEAD TEACHERS) OF SCHOOLS
(INCLUDING ONE-TEACHER, HIGH AND SPECIAL SCHOOLS)

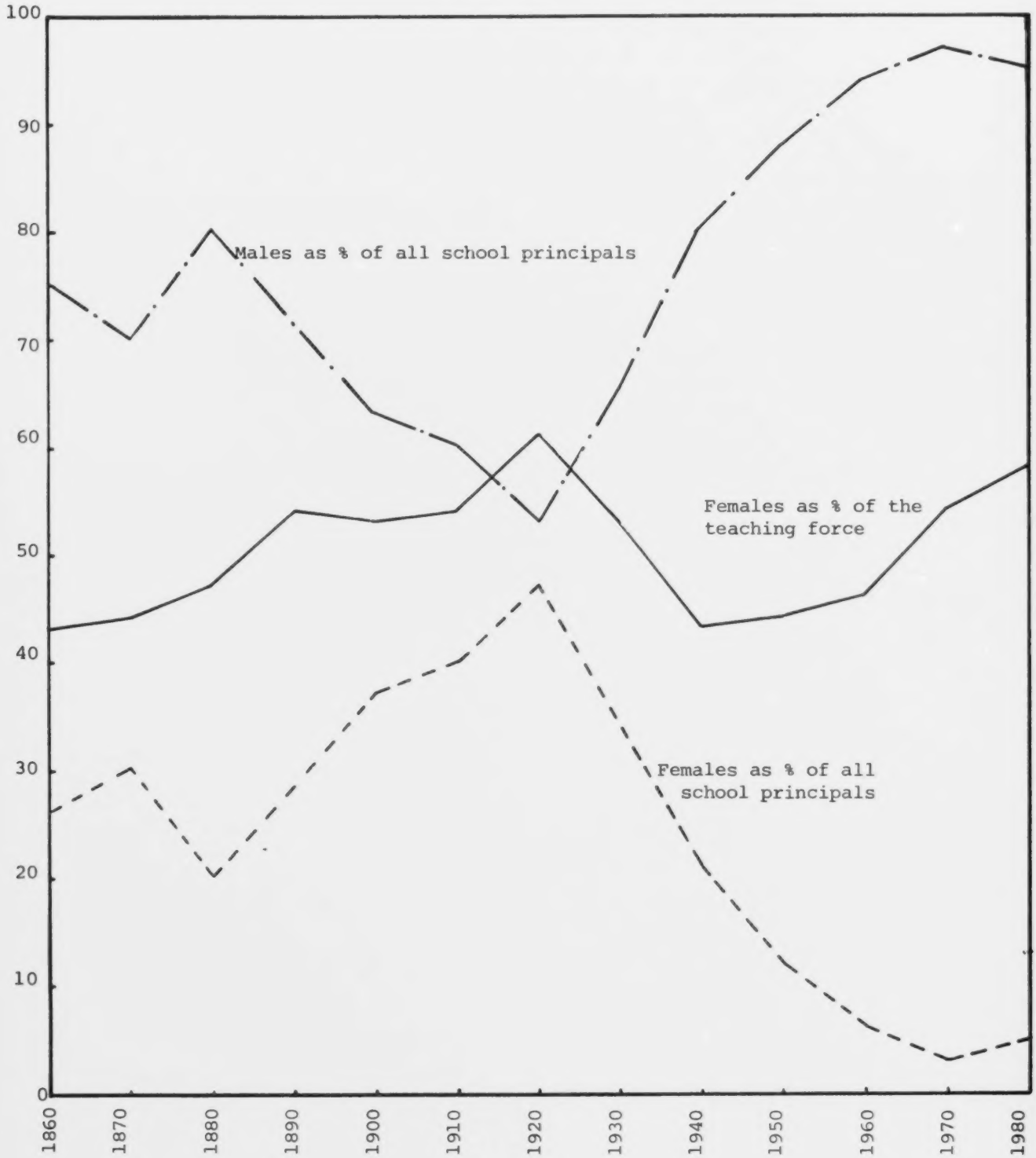


TABLE 4

TERTIARY ENTRANCE SCORES BY INSTITUTION, OF ALL FORM A APPLICANTS ADMITTED IN 1984 BY THE QUEENSLAND TERTIARY ADMISSIONS CENTRE

COURSE / TE SCORE	BRISBANE CAE	CAPRICORNIA IAE	DARLING DOWNS IAE	GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY	JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY	QUEENSLAND INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY	UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
990	2	9	9	1	10	15	330
980-989	7	3	8	4	8	38	300
970-979	12	8	14	3	14	50	241
960-969	17	7	16	2	15	60	222
950-959	23	4	13	4	24	76	185
940-949	38	10	21	9	19	80	145
930-939	45	9	20	7	18	95	136
920-929	46	8	14	10	17	83	108
910-919	42	13	23	15	21	63	116
900-909	53	10	27	7	13	66	106
890-899	69	9	22	10	14	48	105
880-889	73	14	38	19	21	61	72
870-879	89	8	32	50	14	65	
860-869	98	11	25	50	29	65	
850-859	90	0	26	33	26	48	
840-849	112	11	29	53	17	34	
830-839	73	13	23	57	33	42	
820-829	54	20	43	26	3	37	
810-819	33	21	35	26	18	32	
800-809	31	12	12	19	24	16	
790-799	19	4	12		8	24	
780-789	12	10	19		5	25	
770-779	14	17	8		7	15	
760-769	6	9	18		5	19	
750-759	5	7	15		3	21	
740-749	3	7	9		10	8	
730-739	2		2				
720-729	1		2				
710-719	1		2				
700-709			3				
690-699	1		3				
680-689	1		4				
670-679	1						
660-669			1				
650-659	6		5				
640-649	2						
600-639	5		3				
Special	18	1	2	109	64	4	1
TOTALS	1,104	264	558	514	460	1,194	2,067
MEDIAN	855	850	860	855	875	905	965

Several thousand teachers have taken advantage of this arrangement.

- Parenting leave has been introduced, in addition to accouchement leave for teachers, although this cannot be granted automatically.

- It is compulsory for all interviewing panels to include an equal opportunities representative.

- Equal opportunity policy statements apply at all levels in the system.

However, despite these measures there has not been a significant rise in the number of women occupying managerial positions. The publication *Equals* put out by the Women's Advisory Unit makes clear that on an overall percentage basis in 1984 only 6.6 per cent of all women in the teaching profession held promotional positions, compared with 32.3 per cent of men. As women made up 57 per cent of the teaching population and men 43 per cent this meant in effect, that men held 79 per cent of all promotional positions, and women 21 per cent. While at this point these statistics paint a somewhat dismal picture, what is of interest is that while women continue to predominate in the junior primary principals range, the gender balance in the previously impervious secondary school promotions area is just beginning to change.

Apart from the specific equal opportunity changes mentioned, the department has recently put into place a new corporate management structure of area (decentralised) decision making which has resulted in the appointment of a significant number of women to senior posts - director, assistant director and superintendent levels. While this is not an example of improvement for women currently at the school level, some of these senior women have been drawn direct from primary principals positions.

In addition, part and parcel of the new area structure is the provision of superintendents for equal opportunities. They belong to Student and Community Services (SACS) teams in each of the five area offices. (Four of the five assistant directors responsible for SACS are women.)

While it could be predicted that these changes in the corporate structure will have a positive influence on promotion of women at the field level, this theory remains to be tested.

The final point to be made in the 'structural' context is that the South Australian Education Department is one of eight government departments in South Australia which have recently set up equal employment opportunity committees. The education department's committee will be assisted by a senior project officer and will develop an equal employment opportunities management plan to cover public servants, teachers and ancillary staff, with the focus on disadvantaged groups, including women. This is an ambitious task and will involve senior officers in the Department, including the Director of Resources, Helga Kolbe.

While these structural changes have been an achievement, many women would argue that they do not go far enough and that positive discrimination, particularly during the current promotional squeeze, ought to be extended. This is where the far more complex and deep-seated problem of attitudes must be confronted. One of the reasons why *Equals* felt it necessary to underline the statistics on women's promotion was the evidence of a new mythology - that women were moving into all the promotional positions at the expense of talented, capable males. The backlash had begun. If an analogy is drawn between the 1952 and subsequent desegregation rulings in the United States then it can be predicted that the attitudinal barriers to the equal participation of women in the workplace will be of far greater significance than the legislative and policy barriers ever were.

The attitudinal restraints not only come from a defensive (and powerful) male workforce, generally convinced of its superiority in all matters managerial. They also come from women themselves who, unlike their male counterparts, often lack encouragement from their male superiors and who constantly fight a mental battle about the worth of climbing into a male defined managerial world. These barriers are far more pervasive, subtle and resistant to change.

Then of course there are those who see the moves in the equal opportunities area to be a sign of weakness on the part of administrators. One instance will suffice,

> Within the education industry itself dissenting voices have been even rarer in Australia than among politicians. Senior bureaucrats have rarely been personally convinced by radical nostrums, but they have been terrified of being labelled as reactionary, as sexist, as racist, or indeed as fascist, if they resisted the spread of the Left Ascendancy. John Steinle, the Director-General of Education in South Australia, is a typical example of a political innocent ever willing to make concessions to pressure groups so that conflict and unpleasantness might be avoided. In a recent brochure entitled *Equal Opportunities*, which was distributed by the thousand in South Australia, Mr. Steinle writes that, 'This Department recognises that particular groups are disadvantaged by our present education system. The largest of these groups is girls.' If he believes this to be true he ought to have resigned, since he rose to power in a system he condemns as discriminatory, but Mr. Steinle cannot seriously hold for one moment that girls in the schools of South Australia are disadvantaged educationally simply on account of their gender. Such statements are made in fear of the antagonism of the angry wimmin*(sic)*, just as gross statements about the educational discrimination suffered by all children whose mother tongue is not English are mere genuflections designed to show solidarity with groups which apparently wield considerable political clout.
>
> (Partington, G. (1985) After the Sheridan Affair. *Quadrant* June.)

How can these people be challenged?

Firstly, as mentioned above, there has been a significant increase in the number of women in the senior echelons in the department. There are distinct and positive differences in the way these women approach and carry out their jobs. They are in sufficient numbers to have an impact on the male definition of the 'successful' manager in education. As more women are able to enter senior management positions, one can anticipate more 'gender-inclusive' models of management which are far more attractive to aspiring women in the field.

Secondly, Professor Eileen Byrne has made reference to the need to ensure that women are given experiences in timetabling and other administrative 'male' provinces, 'not merely counselling and social infrastructure' responsibility areas. This prompts another perspective. As education systems belong to the broad category of human services perhaps they need to consider how they can place more value upon these vital 'social' responsibilities.

In this context the South Australian system is currently examining ways of rewarding teachers who take on additional assignments within their schools for defined periods of time. This will provide an opportunity to elevate some of the school tasks traditionally considered less important and to reward outstanding teachers whose prospects are limited by the promotional bottleneck.

Thirdly, professional development opportunities for women which enable them to have a greater personal and professional influence within the school environment are vital. The Women's Advisory Unit has done an enormous amount to support school-level change and in the long term this will have far greater impact than any top-down approach could achieve.

Fourthly, education, not just of girls but also of boys, must be relied upon if we are to overcome the attitudinal problems inherent in our society.

To close, while the South Australian experience is fledgling and as yet unremarkable in the area of women's promotion to senior school positions, tribute should be paid to the many women in the system who have worked solidly to gain attention for the issues and then to develop the ensuing equal opportunities policies which are now in place in the state. They have achieved much in a difficult climate when apart from the general resources squeeze, the needs of other disadvantaged groups are placing new demands on the energies of educators. They have created a threshold, a beginning, and have shown the way forward.

GENDER EQUITY POLICY IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Warren Louden

The Education Department of Western Australia is committed to a policy of equal opportunity. It sees this as being achieved in two major ways. The first is through the overhaul of the staffing system to remove direct and indirect factors which may result in discrimination on gender grounds and to redress current inequities through affirmative action. The second major direction which is long term in its application is concerned with changing the social expectations and attitudes of the community so that women may compete on equal terms with men for senior positions within the education department.

Staffing Policies Prior to 1984

The education department employs some 13 250 fulltime teachers. Of these 5 500 are men and 6 200 are women employed in primary and secondary schools. Despite the fact that there are more women than men, men outnumber women by more than three to one so far as promotional positions are concerned. This imbalance would be far greater if the department has not retained sex linked deputy principal positions in all primary schools with enrolments of 300 or over and all secondary schools. The legitimacy of retaining sex linked positions may be challenged under the recently introduced equal opportunity legislation.

The existence of sex linked positions has tended to disguise the imbalance of men and women in senior promotional positions. In the senior administration, only one woman occupies a position at the director level. There are fourteen positions at or above this level. There are only eighteen women at the superintendent (inspector) level out of some 107 positions. Of these ten are in what might be termed sex stereotyped roles (junior primary, home economics, commerce, equal opportunity). There is no right of appeal against departmental decisions to appoint at this level. The imbalance however exists because the previous promotional history of male applicants gives them significant experiential advantage over female applicants when appointments are being made. In addition males often have a qualifications advantage.

Further evidence of the imbalance is evident if the position of principal is examined. There are over 500 male principals in primary schools but only 30 women. At the secondary level men outnumber women by 137 to five. It is clear that if any reasonable balance is to be achieved then there is need for affirmative action.

For several years the department has been attempting to increase the number of women in senior positions. The results have not always been as anticipated. Two examples may serve to illustrate. Prior to 1982 there were separate promotional streams to primary and junior primary principalships. With restricted opportunities in the latter area which was restricted to females, the decision was taken to integrate the lists to give women greater access to primary schools. The result was the filling of junior primary principalships, almost

all of which are in the metropolitan area, by males who gained experience with young children as teacher-in-charge of small schools and who were able to transfer to the more advantageously located junior primary schools from country primary schools of like classification. A second device was the creation of senior assistant positions which required teachers to have special strengths in one or more of a variety of specialised areas, for example, early childhood or remedial education. It was believed that these positions would be particularly attractive to women. However the bulk of the positions are now occupied by men.

The Committee of Inquiry

During 1983-84 Western Australian education was thoroughly examined by a Committee of Inquiry, chaired by Kim Beazley. The committee directed a great deal of attention to staffing matters and recommended the extension of a system of promotion by merit. At present only two in five positions in secondary schools and one in three primary promotions are filled on the basis of merit.

The committee proposed that by 1990 all promotional positions should be filled on merit, that merit should be based on formal evaluation, that formal evaluation should be based on the widest possible range of relevant data, including input from professional colleagues, and that all promotional positions should be filled for a limited term (five years). The person formerly filling the position would be eligible for reappointment under this recommendation.

The Beazley Committee also endorsed the principle of affirmative action. The recommendation relating to this provision was that women receive at least 50 per cent of all promotions over the next five years or at least should be appointed in proportion to the number of applicants.

Implementing the Recommendations

A joint working party consisting of departmental and union officers was charged with the responsibility for advising the Minister on the implementation of Beazley recommendations. The committee met frequently during 1984 with the intention of implementing changes on a pilot basis in 1985 with effect from 1 January 1986.

In reviewing the existing system of promotion in primary schools it became clear that geographic mobility has been an extremely important factor. In this state there are five classes of schools graduated according to student enrolment. Appropriately qualified teachers may avoid passing through the smallest of these schools by accepting other promotional positions. However, in order to gain promotion to larger schools, typically it is necessary to take up an appointment in a small school (enrolment 32 plus). The majority of these schools are located in rural areas and thus willingness to accept a country posting is an almost essential ingredient in the promotional system leading to the primary school principalship. It was this factor which ensured that almost all such positions were filled by men who tended to be more mobile. The system requires principals to serve for two years in such a position before becoming

eligible for placement on the promotion list for the next largest classification of school. As a result, teachers must spend at least three years in a small school before moving to a larger school. Typically, however, progression is very much slower than this. Few women have sought promotion through this route. They have tended instead to fill the sex linked deputy principal positions which are approximately equal in status to the position of principal of the second largest class of school. Several years ago, in an attempt to encourage women to take up promotional positions as principals, a change to the previously existing practice was made. This change allowed women who were deputies in the largest (Class IA) primary schools to be placed on the promotion list for appointment to Class II schools. These schools have enrolments between 100-300 students. It might have been expected that such a move would have led to a number of women gaining promotion. This, however, was not the case. There were two reasons. The first was that, as the most recent additions to the list, they were too low on the list to receive 'general' promotion, that is, automatic promotion based on the list placement. However, to qualify for the one in three 'special' positions, all applicants must signify their willingness to serve wherever required in the state. There are many Class II primary schools in the metropolitan area of Perth. These, however, are normally filled by the transfer of principals from country locations. Thus women who aspired to the principalship had to be prepared to accept a country appointment for at least two years and few proved to be willing to do this.

The situation at the secondary school level is less acute since there are less grades of secondary schools. Principalships of schools which cover the year range 1-10 are available to both primary and secondary applicants. Eligibility to apply is based on one of several alternative promotional positions, including the sex linked deputy position; however, only two women have accepted such appointments. Promotion to the principalship of a high school (years 8-12) requires the applicant to have been a deputy principal or principal of a district high school (years 1-10). Typically, these positions are achieved after a period as a senior (subject) master. Because of the shortage of women applying for deputy positions in the more remote schools it has been possible for some female applicants to bypass the positions. The result has been that there are a few relatively young female deputy principals. To preserve equity with males these women were required until recently to have served as long as males before coming eligible for promotion to the principalship. The removal of this requirement recently has led to the appointment of a number of women but they still comprise only a very small percentage of high school principals.

Affirmative Action Provisions

The working party, in deciding what should be recommended to the Director-General, realised that to change the existing distribution of principalships within primary schools within the five year period specified by the Beazley Report, strong affirmative action measures would be necessary. The working party examined the length of total service and the amount of service in administrative positions of males achieving promotion to principals of Class I schools and recommended that women with a comparable period of total time and experience as a

deputy of a Class I primary school or a more senior position, should be eligible to apply for 'special promotion', that is, promotion by merit to a Class I school. This recommendation which was accepted by the Director-General cut across the long standing tradition of graduation to the principalship of larger schools through the principalship of smaller schools (Appendix 6).

It was not surprising that there was a great deal of concern among males expressed in the main through the Primary Principals' Association. Opposition also came from male deputy principals, the wives of principals in small schools and, somewhat surprisingly, from female teachers who signed protest petitions which were circulated in primary schools.

In the face of this very strong opposition there was almost no support from female teachers. It is interesting to note that of the several hundred letters received on the topic, few objections were raised to the principle of affirmative action but the assumption was made that this could be done in a way which did not discriminate against males. The Primary Principals' Association which was totally opposed to the scheme was invited to suggest alternative methods by which the objective of providing a more equitable distribution of promotional positions between males and females within the overarching requirement that such promotions should be merit based. No acceptable alternative proposal was received.

As a result of this change to the regulations some 50 women were made eligible to apply for special promotion to large primary schools. Only nine availed themselves of the opportunity. Eighteen men also applied for the sixteen positions which became available.

Appointments to promotional positions in primary schools are made through an Appointments Board. They are made on the basis of references which come respectively from a superintendent, superordinate, a peer and a subordinate. On the basis of these references the Appointments Board recommended four women for the position of principal Class I primary school.

In the opposition prior to the appointments being made the opinion had frequently been expressed that if women were appointed they would be younger than their male counterparts, lacking in significant administrative experience and would have done little country services.

When the appointments were made it became clear that this was not the case. The average length of total service of the successful women was marginally greater than that of males receiving similar appointments. The average length of time during which women had occupied promotional positions of the level required was somewhat more than that of successful male applicants and the average length of country service of the successful women was 12 years.

The promotion by merit scheme will be extended in 1986 to include promotion to smaller schools and an affirmative action component is included in these proposals also.

The working party in making its recommendations concerning affirmative action had rejected the Beazley Committee's recommendation

that 50 per cent of all promotions should go to women. It did so on two grounds. The first was that any scheme based on quotas was inconsistent with the concept of promotion by merit. Further the view was taken that since women had been denied promotion in the past the 50 per cent quota might give less positions to women than if merit was the only criterion applied. Pragmatically also the view was taken that if this were to be done there may be insufficient applications, particularly for the more remote schools. Instead of moving to a quota system, therefore, the Committee instead chose to give increased eligibility to women for a period of five years while extending the promotion by merit scheme to all promotional positions within the Education Department of Western Australia.

Difficulties in Achieving More Women in Management

The working party's recommendation is that once a full promotion by merit scheme is implemented the requirement that all applicants for special promotion should indicate their willingness to serve wherever required will be phased out. While on the face of it this will increase the likelihood of well qualified, experienced and capable women achieving promotion without the need for extended periods of country service, in fact, it is doubtful if this will occur. The reason lies in the priority which is given to teachers who are transferring from country locations over those who are being newly appointed to promotional positions. While this requirement remains, and it is necessary to retain it because of the large number of very remote schools in Western Australia which must be staffed by teachers of high quality, it is unlikely that the number of women who will achieve principal positions will increase dramatically. It may be that some form of incentive payment or accelerated promotion for those willing to take positions in remote locations may reduce this problem. However, there is a good deal of evidence which suggests that this is unlikely. It therefore seems that until such time as community attitudes change to the extent that it is socially acceptable for the male and family to accompany the female family member who must undertake country service then women will continue to be under-represented at the school management level. Alternatively women may commute from reasonable accessible country locations as males have done for many years. It is in the bringing about of changes in community attitudes that the schools program described below is concerned.

As mentioned earlier, women have difficulty in competing for the most senior jobs because of lack of relevant experience or possibly qualifications. In the recent past there has been a conscious effort to ensure that women are considered for travel and study scholarships which will help redress this situation.

Many previously existing structures which have inhibited the promotion of women have been identified and removed in recent years. However, there are many hidden and often subtle disincentives to women to seek promotional positions. It is to identify these with a view to their removal that an Equal Employment Opportunity Branch has recently been set up within the department.

This section, which will work directly to a policy committee chaired by the Deputy Director-General of Education, will not only

identify and recommend measures designed to increase the number of women in promotional positions but will monitor progress towards this end and will be involved in ensuring that women have access to the training opportunities which encourage them to seek promotion.

Curriculum Reform and Women's Role in Educational Management

A strong commitment to curriculum reform pertaining to gender equity is an important accompaniment to industrial and personnel policies aimed at making schools more equitable workplaces. In the long term a significant and equitable number of women in management positions can only be assured if there exists in society an unbiased faith in the abilities of both men and women. In this context the current commitment of the Education Department of Western Australia to equality of educational outcomes for male and female students is relevant.

Gender equity policy in curriculum in Western Australian schools seeks equality of outcomes for male and female students in areas such as levels of self esteem and self confidence, patterns of participation and achievement in all formal and informal curriculum offerings and ability to be economically, socially and personally independent and competent. Adoption of such a policy has two important consequences for the likely role of women in management in primary and secondary education.

Firstly, commitment to gender equity for students seeks to ensure that the coming generation of teachers who are currently students in our schools, experience schools as places providing equal scope for personal and career satisfaction for males and females. Hopefully when these youngsters become teachers affirmative action will not be necessary.

Secondly, it is clear that sexist policies and attitudes are prevalent in schools which delimit the educational experiences of girls and boys. These policies and attitudes have at their root the same factors which cause the lack of opportunities experienced by women as teachers. The professional development process pursued by teachers when working on school policy to benefit their students has been found to generate an understanding or consciousness of gender equity issues which bears fruit for women in the staffing and duty allocation within schools. In other words, the environment in which counter-sexist education is emerging is itself becoming less sexist for female staff.

In Western Australia, the lynch-pin of curriculum policy on gender equity is that every school will be expected to develop a comprehensive, across-the-curriculum action plan aimed at stimulating equality of outcomes. Each teacher will be expected to monitor his or her own classroom and to develop strategies for countering sexist practice.

Support for the process in schools was increased in 1984, with the establishment of an Equal Opportunity Branch headed by a substantive superintendent. Currently 5.5 centrally-based professional officers provide a consultancy and resource base for schools. A Policy Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity, chaired by the Deputy

Director-General was established. Other key elements of the education department's program in this area include:

- Appointment of co-ordinators of school policy on gender equity to a number of pilot secondary schools. Each has 0.2 time teacher relief.

- Conduct of a series of seminars for teams of teachers from primary and secondary schools to equip them with skills and knowledge needed to commence and maintain a whole school approach to gender equity policy. Teacher relief is provided for these seminars.

- Conduct of a series of teacher in-service courses (mostly with teacher relief) focusing on key issues in gender equity. In 1985 topics addressed include the secondary school sports program, self esteem development, classroom dynamics and girls and computers.

- Development of a collection of counter-sexist teaching resources for use in schools.

- Production of teaching and other resources when needed (Appendix 7).

- Establishment or harnessing of communication channels throughout the system to stimulate debate on the topic. (This includes running an annual Women in Education Conference.)

- Provision of consultancy services to schools on this issue. Provision of support for adoption of a gender inclusive perspective to general processes of policy development, and curriculum materials production throughout the department.

- Supporting a very innovative action research/teacher development project entitled 'Person-to-Person' on the topic of classroom dynamics. This project has support from the *Projects of National Significance Program*.

Conclusion

Western Australia, like other states, recognises the educational and industrial concerns arising from the imbalance of women and men in management positions in schools. Western Australia is, perhaps, unique in the strength of its current commitment to positive discrimination for women. Even before state affirmative action legislation was enacted this year, the education department was firmly committed to this program. A promising start has been made in Western Australia to achieving more equal representation of women in management positions. However, it should be recognised that shifts in policy sometimes create less real change in the first instance than the rhetoric promises. This has certainly been our experience in Western Australia. It is essential therefore that efforts be continued in both the short term through affirmative action programs and in the long term. It is likely that until a generation of girls have had the experience of regarding themselves as equal there will not be achievement of the goal of equity irrespective of gender.

WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TASMANIA

Beverley Richardson, Margaret Lonergan and Jan Edwards

The Current Position of Women

In Tasmania the proportion of males and females in the staffing quota for the teaching force is detailed in Table 1.

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF MALE AND FEMALE TEACHERS , 1984

Level	Males %	Females %
Primary education	76	24
Secondary education	42	58
Special education	75	25
TOTAL	59	41

Tables 2 to 5 detail the senior positions in the primary, secondary, tertiary and services/administration sector.

TABLE 2

SENIOR POSITIONS IN THE PRIMARY SECTOR

Level	Females	Total	Percentage Female
Senior teacher	188	265	71
Vice-principal	31	118	26
Infant mistress/master	36	36	100
Principal	27	182	15

TABLE 3

SENIOR POSITIONS IN THE SECONDARY SECTOR

	Females	Total	Percentage Female
Senior master/mistress	100	451	22
Vice-principal	15	79	19
Principal	2	54	4

TABLE 4

SENIOR POSITIONS IN THE SPECIAL EDUCATION SECTOR

Level	Females	Males	Percentage Female
Senior teacher	14	17	82
Vice-principal	1	2	50
Principal	8	16	50

TABLE 5

SENIOR POSITIONS IN SERVICES/ADMINISTRATION

	Females	Total	Percentage Female
Senior education officers	8	31	26
Supervisors	3	15	20
Principal education officer	2	14	14
Officers paid above principal level	5	28	18

The one area of seniority where females hold about as many positions as could be expected from their numbers in the teaching force is that of senior teacher in primary schools.

The Department is conscious of the need to equalise the distribution of senior positions. The hope is that the senior teachers will be applying and getting future jobs as vice-principals, and, eventually, as principals. This cannot be a rapid process. Reference to Table 1 will show that if 76 per cent of vice-principals were female (the proportion of females in the teaching force) it would be 90 people. At the moment there are 31 female vice-principals, which leaves a shortfall of 59 people. In the past few years, only two to five vice-principal positions have been advertised in the primary section each year. Even if all future positions were to be filled by women in the ratio 7:3 it is easy to see that the process of equalisation will be a very long one.

The other tables indicate that there is a long way to go before the proportions of males and females in the teaching force are reflected in the senior positions.

The Promotions Process

All promotable positions in Tasmania are advertised openly and have been for nearly twenty years. There are no barriers and any person may apply for any position.

The main criterion is suitability. However, in practice anyone applying for a position must have a current report and assessment. The report is written by a Principal or other senior officer, and this is the only access a Principal has to the Promotions Committee. The assessment is given by the appropriate superintendent or Inspector and this is the only access the superintendent has to the Promotions Committee.

The Promotions Committee consists of one elected primary and one elected secondary representative from the Tasmanian Teachers'Federation, one nominated primary and one nominated secondary representative from the department plus a department nominated chairperson. In 1985 the chairperson is male and there are two female representatives and two male representatives.

Balance of Applications and Appointments

In 1984, 1050 male and 225 female applications were received to fill 103 positions, and 79 positions were filled by males and 24 by females. From January to June 1985, 719 male and 126 female applications have been made for 46 positions which have been filled by 33 men and 13 women. It is interesting to note that for four vice-principal positions there were 168 male and 21 female applications. One was filled by a man and three by women.

Table 6 lists percentages of male and female applications and appointments in 1984/85.

TABLE 6

APPLICATIONS AND APPOINTMENTS BY SEX, 1984

	Male	Female
% Applications 1984	82.35	17.65
% Appointments 1984	76.69	23.30
% Applications 1985	85.08	14.91
% Appointments 1985	71.73	28.26

The Mobility Study

The study of the mobility of teachers in Tasmania was completed in 1983. The research was conducted over a period of two and a half years and sought to discover what options for mobility, other than promotion, teachers would support.

The study was a combination of group discussions of representative groups, individual interviews and a questionnaire distributed to a 20 per cent random sample of teachers at all levels. The response rate was 80 per cent of usable material.

There were fifteen options presented and of these five were strongly supported in general and in personal application:

- master teacher (same difficulty in implementing)
- task-related staffing
- paid positions of responsibility
- automatic review after ten years in a position
- mandatory retirement at age 60

There were differences between male and female responses in:

(more female support)

- permanent part-time positions
- task-related staffing
- automatic review after ten years at one school or in one position and

(more male support)

- temporary paid posts of responsibility
- secondment to industry and commerce
- interstate exchanges.

There were systems-wide perceptions of how to obtain promotion and these were not collated on a male/female basis but they are interesting, nonetheless:

- being male
- having a university degree
- moving between schools
- not spending more than five years in one school
- being involved in further study through inservice or post-graduate work
- being heavily involved in extra-curricular activities in the school and the community
- making a useful and valued contributions at school and systems levels
- having a strong sense of a career timetable, career map and strategy, indicating goals and how they intend to accomplish them
- obtaining the first promotion in a minimum time (approximately five years)
- being lucky
- obtaining and maintaining a sponsor or sponsors which may mean conforming to the views of the principal or other superiors
- willing to work in undesirable work locations
- gaining administrative type experience
- being seen as a competent class teacher.

Reason for seeking promotion

The following main reasons, which do not appear in any particular order of relevant importance, were given by interviewees regarding why they seek promotion,

- For some teachers promotion appears to be necessary if they are to satisfy the motives which brought them into teaching.

- The spur to seeking promotion may come from the accumulation of experience which gives teachers confidence that they can do a good job at a higher level on the promotion ladder.

- One motivation is the wish to earn more money.

- Some, as a result of observing their colleagues, come to the conclusion that they could do a better job than those who have already achieved promotion.

- Some seek to establish new professional challenges due to a feeling of boredom in their current post.

- Some seek promotion as a matter of pride or because they feel that if they do not seek promotion it is a public admission of incompetence.

- Some apply for promotion after receiving encouragement from professional peers who say such things as 'you can do it' or 'we think you would make a good senior teacher'.

- Some want the public systems level recognition of competence which promotion implies.

. Some want the increased influence and power which promotion implies.

It would appear that the most important reasons for teachers seeking promotion were:

. wish to maximise their influence and power within their school and/or the education system with a view to improving that school and/or system;

. wish to have more freeedom in their work;

. need to establish new challenges in order to relieve or reduce the threat of boredom.

Teachers in Promotions Positions

Table 7 details the status of teachers in senior positions in 1984 including all full-time personnel in schools, colleges, and administrative and service branches (including the Division of Recreation) at 2 July, 1984, but excluding those with the status of superintendent or higher, and all Division of Further Education personnel.

TABLE 7

STATUS OF SENIOR TEACHERS, 2 JULY, 1984

	Male	Female	Total
Principals	218	40	258
Infant mistresses	-	32	32
Vice-principals	94	46	140
Senior masters, mistresses	349	86	435
Senior teachers	75	175	250
Regional guidance officers	2	1	3
Senior guidance officers	6	4	10
Supervisors	11	3	14
Principal education officers	10	2	12
Senior education officers	18	7	25
	783	396	1179
TOTALS:	2239	3203	5482

Self-esteem Programs in Tasmania; a case study

In Tasmania a priority has been placed on the need to change attitudes and awareness levels of people in schools. The department is trialling a significant strategy for bringing about changes in relations between women and men and girls and boys. It is an extremely popular, well-received program supported by children, teachers and parents.

In 1983, Tasmania was funded for a *Commonwealth Schools Commission project of National Significance*. The program was initially aimed at girls who were perceived as being 'at risk'. It involved trialling strategies designed to increase their self image and to help them feel that they were in control of their own lives. It began in five high schools and one district school with two part-time project officers. In the early days, the project officers were often seen as 'pushy' women with some kind of grievance about opportunities for girls. Optimistically the program was called *Wings*.

In 1985, the program has taken off and is growing rapidly. Self-esteem programs are funded and supported by the *Participation and Equity Program*. They are for boys as well as girls. Non-government schools are also involved through the *Commonwealth Schools Commission's Professional Development Program* and its *School Improvement Scheme*. The Professional Development Program also provides in-depth training courses for teachers in the area of interpersonal relations. The self esteem project has one full-time officer and two part-time field workers.

Until 1985, courses have been taken in single-sex groups. A few schools that have been involved longer are working with mixed groups. Some men are taking these school-based self-esteem courses with students. Usually, they begin by helping students and in the process learn a great deal about themselves and their relationships with others, particularly women. The project assumes that men and boys must also be involved in efforts to change attitudes and behaviours.

Some Emerging Trends

During the two and a half years of the project's operation several trends have emerged:

- Women who have been part of the staff development programs have a better sense of their own worth.

- There is an improved sense of team work for greater numbers of staff. The project makes it easier for teachers to be involved in group decision-making processes. Factions and cliques in staffrooms have become harder to sustain.

- Some schools are beginning to look at their internal arrangements and organisational patterns. Leadership tasks are being reallocated. Women are being given a high profile while men are being seen in a more caring capacity.

- Parents are supportive and interested and in several cases take part in the inservice programs.

- Parents report better relationships with their children, particularly daughters who become less surly and better able to listen, to talk calmly and to reason.

- Girls feel confident about expressing their point of view in class. They do not blush and feel as embarrassed as they did before.

- Boys at first are startled to find that they are competing for the teachers' time.

Some schools are beginning to feel that the work is valuable and they are seeking to have it included in the normal budget. How to further mainstream the strategies into the curriculum is being investigated. There are signs that *Wings* is already beginning to change the secondary school environment and make it more empathetic towards women and their experiences and contribution. The program is bringing about a climate of acceptance where a wide range of issues relating to women and girls can be addressed sensibly. Appropriate strategies such as these for working at school-level change must be found if women are to avoid frustration and antagonism in their efforts to achieve equality.

Reference

Education Department of Tasmania (1984), *Wings* - A pilot project to increase self-esteem in girls. Tasmania Government Printer.

WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

Lyn Powierza

The Composition of the Teaching Service

The evidence in the composition of the Northern Territory Teaching Service is that there is the same hierarchical ranking of women and men that is reflected in teaching services throughout Australia, even though the Northern Territory Teaching Service is the most recently formed and the traditional barriers of continuous service and seniority are not present within the promotion system. Despite the fact that women constitute 71 per cent of teachers at the Band 1 level (that is, the classroom teacher level) their proportion decreases dramatically in the move up the seniority ladder (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AT EACH BAND LEVEL OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORY TEACHING SERVICE, JUNE 1985

Position	% Female
Teacher Band 1	71
Teacher Band 2 primary	57
Teacher Band 2 secondary	44
Teacher Band 3 primary	29
Teacher Band 3 secondary	14
Teacher Band 4 primary	21
Teacher Band 4 secondary	21

Note Band 1 equates with classroom teacher
Band 2 equates with senior teacher
Band 3 equates with deputy principal
Band 4 equates with principal

The Northern Territory has had a system of peer assessment leading to eligibility for promotion since the Commonwealth Teaching Service was first introduced in 1973. This is a particularly time-consuming process as far as individual classroom teachers are concerned so there is a suggestion that this mitigates against women in the sense that it is too taxing on the limited time available from family responsibilities and professional concerns. The average age of the population is much younger in the Northern Territory than in other parts of Australia and this means that there are larger numbers of young children. A very high proportion of mothers of young children work, due in part to the very high costs of living. Teachers are no exception to this and the demands of child rearing are very dominant.

As seniority or country service are not prerequisites for promotion it is my suspicion, borne out by evidence which emerged in Shirley Sampson's research, that women see themselves in the role of

the nurturers within the family structure and pay the consequence professionally.

However, this is by no means the whole of the story. Women do not appear to be under-represented in the professional associations and so are apparently prepared to make the requisite time commitments to be involved in activites they see as relevant and worthwhile.

But within the advisory and administrative segments of the Department women are under-represented (Table 2).

TABLE 2

MALES AND FEMALES IN ADVISORY POSITIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT, JUNE 1985

Position	Female	Male	% Female
Education officers	19	29	40
Senior education officers	19	21	48
Principal education officers	4	14	22
Superintendents	2	14	12

Why so Few?

Some of the reasons that women do not try for promotion are proffered in the following few lines. Many do not apply for office-based positions because they prefer school hours and holidays, as these enable them to cope with their family responsibilities. Many wish to remain in the school situation because that is where they see themselves having the most effective role. Possibly they have little idea about office-based responsibilities or lack the confidence to see themselves in an advisory position. Whatever the reasons they continue to give dedicated service in the classrooms and are largely ignorant of the wider spheres of interest within the department. Would it be too naive to suggest that they do not understand the department and therefore do not progress within it?

It appears that many women are not aware of what extra responsibilities are involved in senior positions at either the school or head office level. It could be that very often they would find the senior positions and responsibility less taxing than the constant, demanding attention and concentration needed within the classroom.

Women in the main centres of Darwin and Alice Springs have the opportunity to attend women in management and women at work courses which are conducted under the auspices of the Equal Opportunity Unit within the Public Service Commissioner's Office. There has been a lot of interest shown by women in education in the courses which give a historical perspective of women in the work force and concentrate on developing confidence and career paths for participants.

The Northern Territory has a very high turnover of staff on a regular basis. It is not difficult for women to become the head of a department or to take up a senior position if they are interested - often there is no competition. However, once in the job there are assumptions made about the level of knowledge. It is assumed that promotees automatically know everything they should by virtue of having the position. There is a real need for the development of seminars to be run at schools so that seniors who need professional instruction into the mysteries of the school timetable and other vagaries of school administration can receive such information in a professional way. Women often tend to blame themselves rather than the system for what they do not know. Is this because of their inexperience and low self confidence? Men are also affected but because of expectations and relationships have a better idea of how to seek information.

Teachers in the Northern Territory participate in course writing. Often two or three days are set aside to produce a course. It is difficult to feel happy with the results and participants often feel inadequate. The majority of teachers are not trained in curriculum writing and without bridging and information courses tend to feel as if they have been thrown into very deep water. When women see others wrestling with heavy responsibilities without adequate support it is understandable that they lose interest in assuming similar burdens.

Women are discouraged by a male hierarchical system. It is difficult to imagine that their problems will be recognised as important. They could give each other valuable support through groups or committees within the school or work place wherein common areas could be identified, discussed and acted upon. It is the perception of some that one of the ironies of life is that female principals can be harder on women than on men - perhaps because they have set themselves such high standards.

The Future

Changes have begun. The responsibility for equal opportunities has been included in a superintendent's position. A position of education for girls officer has been established and that person has done much to show that girls are at the same disadvantage within the Northern Territory system as they are in other places. There are moves afoot to have an equal opportunity representative on selection panels. The department has declared itself to be an equal opportunity employer. Every selection panel must have both sexes represented on it. It is proposed that organisations and associations be asked to nominate both a woman and a man when putting forward nominees for committees so that a reasonable balance can be established in the departmental committee structure. A working party is looking at the training needs of promotees.

There remains much to be done, including the development of an equal employment opportunity policy, giving particular attention to the training needs of women. The attitudes of both women and men will also have to change towards each other in society at large. Women have to see themselves in leadership roles and strive to get there. There is no doubt that they have the ability. The challenge is to find the strategies to enable them to utilise their full potential.

WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT IN THE AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

Barry Price

Equal Employment Opportunity Policy

As a commonwealth statutory authority, the ACT Schools Authority has accorded a high priority to achieving Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO). The stage of ensuring that EEO becomes a routine part of management and supervision functions and setting of targets in the implementation of objectives has been reached. The Authority's emphasis in accelerating the progress of women into middle and senior management positions is through personal professional development.

The Authority has moved to involve women in educational management through its EEO Program. This program has the full support of the Authority as a result of its decision in 1984. At that time the Authority, which is the participative policy-making body (the term is also used for the government school system), made a commitment within the framework of the merit principle to:

- policies and practices which do not discriminate against individuals on the basis of political affiliation, race, colour, ethnic origin, social origin, religion, sex, sexual preference, marital status, pregnancy, age, physical or mental disability or any other unjustified ground;

- a continuing process of monitoring policies and practices to determine whether they have direct or indirect discriminatory effect on its employees;

- the introduction of affirmative action programs by which groups seen as disadvantaged may achieve equality of employment opportunity within the Authority.

At the same time that the Authority adopted its policy statement in relation to EEO, it also defined the concepts of affirmative action, discrimination and sexual harassment in line with the definitions used in commonwealth legislation as follows.

- Affirmative action consists of a planned, outcomes oriented series of programs and changes designed to overcome indirect and systemic discrimination embedded in apparently neutral practices and procedures.

- Discrimination occurs when a distinction is made resulting in one person or group being less favourably treated than others in similar circumstances.

  Direct discrimination in employment occurs when a person or group of people is specifically denied a benefit or opportunity on the basis of a personal characteristic irrelevant to the job requirements.

  Indirect discrimination in employment occurs when a policy, rule or practice which may appear neutral and is applied

impartially has an adverse outcome for a substantially larger number of one group than another thus reducing the chance that a member of the particular group will benefit.

Systemic discrimination is a term which describes the system of discrimination created by a network of rules and practices which constitute indirect discrimination. Systemic discrimination is self perpetuating because each discriminatory action which disadvantages one group simultaneously serves to advantage another group. Therefore these processes are cumulative and self reinforcing. Direct discrimination contributes to systemic discrimination through the cumulative effects of discriminatory attitudes and beliefs.

- Sexual harassment is a form of discrimination which covers a range of unsolicited behaviour which constitutes a deliberate verbal or physical affront of a sexual nature against another person. It includes such unwelcome actions as sexual advances, requests for sexual favours or other conduct of a sexual nature such as comments or physical contact. Where the recipient of such behaviour has reason to believe that a rejection of the advance, refusal of the request or objection to the conduct would disadvantage the recipient in his/her employment or possible employment, the recipient may seek redress through grievance procedures.

The Chief Education Officer (CEO) was given the responsibiility for the achievement of EEO due to his functions as the relevant authority in relation to staffing under the *Public Service Act* and the *Commonwealth Teaching Service (CTS) Act*. The Schools Authority defined the following duties for the CEO:

- devise programs to achieve the aims of anti-discrimination legislation;

- communicate policies and programs to all employees;

- collect and record appropriate information as part of the continuing review of personnel practices within the Authority, including recruitment techniques, selection criteria, training and staff development programs, promotion and transfer policies and patterns and conditions of service with a view to the identification of any discriminatory practices;

- set goals or targets, where these may be reasonably determined, against which the success of the management plan in achieving its aims may be assessed;

- propose strategies for the evaluation of policies and programs;

- and report regularly to the Authority on equal employment opportunity matters.

To assist the CEO the Authority gave formal recognition to the EEO Committee which had been formed in July 1983 at the time when the

Band 2 position of EEO Coodinator was established. The Authority decided that this committee should be chaired by the Senior Director (Resources) and should also include:

- a nominee of the CEO
- two ACT Teachers' Federation nominees;
- two Australian Public Service (APS) union nominees;
- the non-sexist education consultant;
- the EEO coordinator (executive member).

The terms of reference for the committee are to provide advice to senior officers of the Authority in relation to:

- development, implementation and review of the EEO management plan for CTS and APS staff;

- priorities and targets in the implementation of objectives;

- evaluation of initiatives when implemented;

- data on the employment of women and disadvantaged groups as the basis for planning future initiatives;

- reports from the CTS and APS coordinators;

- other relevant matters which arise in the context of EEO objectives.

The committee meets monthly and works closely with the relevant sections of the Office of the Public Service Board. It also reports bimonthly to the CEO and senior officers.

The initial operational objectives, which were devised by the EEO Committee early in 1984 as a means of progressing towards the achievement of equal employment opportunity were commended by the Authority. They are as follows:

- to achieve senior management commitment to the objectives of equal employment opportunity for all Authority staff;

- to promote management understanding of, and cooperation in, the implementation of the Authority's EEO policy pertaining to APS and CTS staff;

- to ensure that EEO responsibilities become a routine part of management and supervision functions;

- to eliminate all discriminatory practices in selection and promotion procedures;

- to ensure proportional representation of women on all Authority committees, task forces, working parties, selection panels, appeals committees;

- to increase the numbers of women in promotions positions and decision making roles;

- to acquaint all staff with their rights and responsibilities under the *Sex Discrimination Act* 1984;

- to provide appropriate grievance procedures for dealing with alleged discriminatory behaviour;

- to ensure that data on male and female employees is kept systematically in a format that enables data to be retrieved readily for research;

- to raise awareness of the issues and forms of sexual harassment of both staff and students in educational institutions.

Profile of Women in ACT Educational Management

As the following statistics illustrate, the ACT has been typical of education systems in its assumption that women do not aspire to careers in education management.

- Only one of the top seven positions in the Authority's office is held by a woman and only two of twelve section heads are women.

- Sixty-seven per cent of all personnel in the Commonwealth Teaching Service (CTS) are women and in the primary area 86 per cent of all positions are held by women.

- Women comprise 70 per cent of all Band 1 positions, 52 per cent of all Band 2 positions, 32 per cent of all Band 3 positions and 10 per cent of all Band 4 positions in the CTS.

- There are no women in Band 4 secondary school positions. Only five of the hundred positions at Band 3 and 4 levels in secondary schools are held by women. Three women from primary backgrounds currently hold Band 4 secondary classified positions in the office.

- Two women holding Band 3 secondary positions hold eligibility for Band 4 positions.

Eligibility has been a prerequisite for promotion to a substantive position at each band level in the CTS. Four years of recognised teacher training is a prerequisite for substantive promotion to positions classified as secondary at the Band 3 and Band 4 levels. Table 1 sets out the position for personnel having eligibility but no substantive position.

TABLE 1

TEACHERS WITH ELIGIBILITY BUT NO SUBSTANTIVE POSITION, MARCH 1985

Level	Sex	Primary	Secondary	Total
Band 2	Women			119
	Men			99
Band 3	Women	19	10	29
	Men	17	46	63
Band 4	Women	10	2	12
	Men	10	18	28

Barriers to EEO

Some of the major barriers to be overcome in the EEO program are:

- the effects of the eligibility system;
- the insensitivity to EEO issues of selection panels;
- the assumptions of senior management (particularly in secondary schools) in relation to women's career aspirations;
- the number of promotion positions likely to be available;
- lack of mobility between pre-school/primary and the secondary sectors.

Overcoming the Barriers

Eligibility. Senior staff no longer regard eligibility as mandatory and have considered proposals to remove it as a prerequisite for promotion. However, the ACT Teachers' Federation currently has a policy in support of its retention. Recent conferences indicate that just short of a majority of federation members are dissatisfied with it. The strongest justification for replacing the eligibility procedure with direct application for positions is that eligibility adds to the existing selection barrier for women seeking promotion. This is possibly the biggest single barrier to speedy implementation of a program designed to see women more influential in educational management.

Selection procedures for all vacant APS and CTS positions. Selection criteria for all APS and CTS positions now include an EEO criterion. All advertisements for positions contain the information that the authority is an EEO employer. All selection panels receive a briefing on their EEO responsibilities and provide the EEO coordinator with a report on progress toward the achievement of EEO at the end of each semester. Each panel contains a mix of men and women. Guidelines for selection panels are being developed to:

- alert panels to indirect discrimination (anecdote method);

- put emphasis on future potential as well as past experience in interpreting the concept of 'merit';

- clarify the relevance of 'personal qualities' to overall efficiency for candidates in designated groups.

The barriers which are still to be overcome include:

- effective staff training for all potential selection panel nominees;

- provision of women nominees on selection panels in proportion to their representation within the service;

- the clarification of the concept of merit in a situation where seniority is a criterion required by the CTS Act in appeals when candidates are equally efficient.

Career aspirations. Much has yet to be done to adapt work patterns and career structures to accommodate family responsibilities. There has not been a systematic survey of the assumptions of senior educational managers in ACT schools. However, women setting out their grievances in relation to discrimination in eligibility and promotion procedures have frequently mentioned these assumptions. During 1984 a workshop on EEO issues was held for Authority members and senior Office staff. In March 1985, as a first step to sensitise senior management in schools to non-sexist education issues, the Authority coordinated a successful conference for 31 senior school managers. However, there is a need to provide extensive EEO awareness training for all senior personnel. Inservice courses have been provided since 1983 in assertiveness training, job application writing and meeting procedures and on the *Sex Discrimination Act* 1984.

At the same time, through school-based committees action is being taken to promote career planning for women. Women are invited to help draw up career plans for themselves. Senior managers are being asked to identify and encourage female subordinates or colleagues to involve themselves in this career planning and then to apply for jobs. Women do not apply for as many jobs as men and a wider range of women should be encouraged to apply for a broader range of jobs. Concurrently it is aimed to offer women more varied work experience. There will be stress on women taking up short-term higher duties allowance positions so that they may increase their management skills.

All schools have been requested to provide a senior officer and one other officer to manage EEO. For example, at Lyneham High School and Narrabundah College, the EEO coordinator has been invited to assist their EEO committees to draw up school-based programs. These will include a staff survey, data base and personal career planning. Selection for promotion positions of less than six months is determined at the school level. An important component of the school EEO plans will be the adoption of selection procedures in line with EEO principles.

Progress has been made in ensuring that there is at least one woman member on all committees and task forces at the system level.

Number of promotions positions. In spite of the opening of new schools, the size of the school system is fairly static. However, the number of teachers in promotions positions who are approaching retirement is increasing. Some 64 per cent of teachers occupying Band 3 positions and some 93 per cent of teachers in Band 4 positions are over the age of 45. This represents a marked change from a decade ago when most older staff in promotions positions had returned to New South Wales at the beginning of the ACT school system. This situation could provide more promotion opportunities in the next ten years. In the immediate future, however, staff reductions announced in the commonwealth's *May Economic Statement* will reduce opportunities; at some band levels there will be no promotions opportunities for the 1986 school year. Women currently have been forced to define their professional satisfaction in terms of their classrom skills. An important factor in changing women's definitions of career satisfaction will be to develop predictors of the availability of promotions positions and to make this information accessible to women.

Mobility. Psychological barriers betwen pre-school/primary and secondary sectors in education remain. Traditionally, management skills in primary schools have been considered as less than those in secondary. Selection panels have consistently been reluctant to promote applicants from another sector. This is a matter which has national implications and is one on which this conference may wish to make a recommendation.

Future Directions

The Authority is currently working on its EEO management plan required under the *Public Service Reform Act* 1984 early in October 1985. The Authority is using the guide provided by the Public Service Board (PSB) and adapting it to its needs. It is also participating in the PSB Survey on EEO which will provide a data base for monitoring progress on the management plan.

The shortage of child care facilities, the public transport system, the design of cities, shopping, banking and office hours, the general separation of public and private life - all reflect the way women have been and still are used to underpin the public careers of men. As Peter Wilenski remarked at the recent conference in Sydney of EEO coordinators, it is necessary now to consider how to challenge and change the 'culture' of a masculine-dominated bureaucratic organisation. The Authority has taken up the challenges and is committed to achieving an educational management structure which promotes merit and is gender inclusive. Progress is slow but the results are becoming visible in those areas of the structure with potential change agents.

Note: The assistance of Cathy Robertson in the preparation of this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

MAKING PROGRESS

WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT IN UNIONS

Di Foggo and Jennie George

The Australian Teachers' Federation (ATF) is an organisation of over 167,000 members comprising the major government school teachers' unions in all states and territories. Coverage includes in excess of 100,000 women members and the level of membership of women in affiliates is in the vicinity of 60 per cent.

Recent research into the representation of women in ATF and its affiliates shows that the strength of women's membership is not reflected in the decision-making bodies or office structures of their unions (see Table 1). Women do not have power commensurate with membership, nor equal power, nor equal participation in the organisations which pursue their industrial and professional concerns.

Historical Aspects of Women in Unions

In understanding the level of representation of women in unions it is useful to draw on some economic factors and historical perspectives which have, in part, determined the situation in which women now are placed.

The structural changes occurring within the Australian economy, particularly evident in the decline of the manufacturing sector and the growth in the services sector, have significant effects in terms of the composition of the workforce and union membership.

The growth of female employment in the services sector, in health, education, banking, insurance, clerical and administrative areas is reflected in the growing proportion of women unionists as a percentage of the total workforce that is unionised. In 1954, the composition of trade union membership was 81 per cent male and 19 per cent female; by 1976, 70 per cent male, 30 per cent female and in 1983, 67 per cent male and 33 per cent female.

In the eight years to December 1983 new female union members made up 73 per cent of the total increase in union membership and in that same period women's membership rose by 16 per cent as against an increase of 2.6 per cent in male membership (see Table 2).

However, the proportion of women workers who are actually members of unions has remained relatively stable during that same period, around the 46 per cent mark. As women comprise 77.13 per cent of the part-time workforce it is highly likely that under-unionisation is occurring in this area, which has traditionally proved difficult to organise.

Since 1983 many unions in the public sector, for example, teacher unions and state public service unions as well as a number of significant ones in the private sector, for example Australian bank employees, the Miscellaneous Workers' Union and the Australian insurance employees now have women as a majority of their membership. But, with the notable exception of one or two unions, women do not have anywhere near the proportion of membership either in the decision-making bodies or office structures.

TABLE 1

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ON AUSTRALIAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION

(as at June 1985)

	VTU				ACTTF				SAIT				QTU				SSTUWA				TTF			
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%
(State) Council	39	67.2	19	32.7	48	34.5	91	65.5					53	69	24	31								
Elected officers	6	60	4	40	2	40	3	60	2	66.6	1	33.4	2	66.6	1	33.4	2	66.6	1	33.3	1	100	-	
Appointed officers	16	59.2	11	40.7			1	100	13	59.1	9	40.9	13	86.6	2	13.4	5	50	5	50	4	50	4	50
Executive					9	50	9	50	6	50	6	50	11	73.3	4	26.7	12	70.5	5	29.5	9	56.3	7	43.7

	VSTA				NSWTF				TTUV				NTTF				AIF				TAFETA			
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%
(State) Council	29	63	17	37		63.1		36.9	20	77	6	23	-		-									
Elected officers	3	75	1	25		65.8		34.2	7	77.8	2	22.2	3	75	1	25	3	50	3	50	1	33.4	2	66.6
Appointed officers	7	50	7	50					3	37.5	5	62.4	1	100	-	-								
Executive	7	77.8	2	22.2					8	66.7	4	33.3	12	70.5	5	29.5	14	77.8	4	22.2	6	66.6	3	33.4

TABLE 2

MEMBERSHIP CHANGES 1976 TO 1983

Gender	1976 ('000)	1983 ('000)	Variation ('000)	%Increase %
Male	1956.7	2007.2	50.5	2.6
Female	843.3	978.0	134.7	16.0
Total	2800.0	2985.2	185.2	6.6
			%	('000)
Male % of total increase			27	50.5
Female % of total increase			73	134.7
			100	185.2

Research Findings

There is a paucity of research data available about women's participation in the union movement. While many will have their own ideas on why women have not chosen to participate or been successful in achieving representation proportional to their membership, findings of some of the available research provide some indicators of the barriers to change.

In 1977 the Royal Commission on Human Relationships published a report which quoted in part a statement from the Women's Electoral Lobby which asserted :

> While unions sometimes take up women's causes to ensure equality for them, there are instances where women's benefits are traded off against the events and where women's complaints are not taken seriously.

The report went on to recommend forms of action by trade unions, to increase the participation of women. It was argued that unions should recognise women as an indispensable part of the workforce and their needs should be considered. It added that trade unions should seek to ensure a better level of participation by women. They should actively seek out women to be trained for union office and should encourage them to stand for election. The *Final Report of the Royal Commission on Human Relationships* urged the introduction of affirmative action programs in unions to induce women to participate actively in the making of decisions that affect their working lives.

Given that this report was released some eight years ago it is not surprising that women should feel some chagrin and frustration because the situation has changed only superficially since 1977.

In 1980 a Monash University team undertook a study of women in seventeen blue and white collar unions in Victoria. They found that the higher in the union hierarchy, the lower the percentage of female representation, even in unions whose membership was predominantly female. Of the thirty-three fulltime paid positions, women did not occupy even one position, but the position was reversed among the unpaid honorary positions where women occupied ten of the thirty-five honorary positions.

From a Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA) survey conducted in 1980 it was established that there were approximately 2,376 fulltime positions in Australian unions, including appointed research and industrial staff. Based on information collected from union and TUTA sources, it was estimated, though not conclusively, that overall women held only 11.1 per cent of all fulltime union officer positions (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

FULLTIME FEMALE OFFICERS, 1980

(Including appointed research and industrial staff)

State	Sector		Total Female	Total Male and Female	% Female to all officers
	Public	Private			
					%
N.S.W.	59	46	105	836	12.6
Vic.	37	34	71	669	10.6
Qld	15	6	21	287	7.3
S.A.	15	10	25	224	11.1
W.A.	17	8	25	232	10.7
Tas	10	3	13	102	12.7
N.T.	2	1	3	15	10.0
Total	155	108	263	2365	11.1

These statistics indicate an appalling lack of representation of women in structures of the union movement.

Also in 1980 a book *Hear This, Brother* by Jane Stageman, which looked at women workers and union power, included a study of trade union branches in the Hull area of Britain. She drew the link between employment and unions and deduced that the :

> ....hierarchies of trade unions reflect the hierarchies in employment. Women are accustomed to being at the bottom of the pile, behaving deferentially towards men and expecting little or no advancement. This is bound to shape their aspirations and expectations in trade union affairs.

The attitudes of women in the Hull study indicated that obstacles to union involvement by women were of a practical, institutionalised and male domination nature. Some of the factors given in encouraging participation included having union meetings held in work time, simplifying union matters, increasing the availability of information and fewer home responsibilities (see Table 4).

TABLE 4

FACTORS WHICH 108 FEMALE RESPONDENTS FROM THE FIVE TRADE UNION BRANCHES IN THE HULL AREA BELIEVED WOULD ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATION IN UNION ACTIVITIES, 1980

PERSONAL	No.	%	UNION	No.	%
Fewer home responsibilities	51	55	Meetings held in more convenient places	34	37
Giving up other activities	15	16	Meetings held at a different time	11	12
Feeling more confident	41	44	Meetings held in work time	59	64
Going to meetings with someone else	34	37	Make union matters easier to understand	57	62
My husband agreeing to me being active in the union	11	12	Provide childcare facilities so I could come to meetings	5	5
Knowing that women can be as competent as men in union affairs	37	40	Make more information available about how union work	52	56
Male union members giving me a chance to air my views	25	27	Organise more social events	14	15
Having greater interest in union affairs	52	56	Running education course	22	24
Nothing would make it easier	10	11	Creating opportunities so women could get together and discuss matters of interest to them	43	46
Other	4	4	Other	3	3

Source: Coote, A. and Kellner, P. (1980) *Hear This, Brother: Women Workers and Union Power*.

An interesting and unfortunately common aspect of Stageman's work is the difficulties faced by women union activists.

> Because of their rarity, women whose heads emerge above the crowd are swiftly burdened with responsibility, and they often have extra commitments (to women's meetings as well as to their families), on top of all their regular union duties. The higher up the ladder they go, the more isolated they become and the tougher it gets to prove they can do the job. It is common for women who hold senior offices to find they

> have no more time for their equal rights or women's advisory committees. Some who get near the top, having fought for most of their lives to 'make it' on men's terms, get comfy as token women and lose sight of their sisters' need for a helping hand. Some hold on to their commitments but are driven in their isolation to degrees of paranoia and over-caution. These problems will only diminish if the support network grows stronger; if more women emerge in senior positions; and if union hierarchies keep in much closer touch with the grass roots.

In 1981 Kay Hargreave's book *Women at Work* again pointed to the under-representation of women in unions, showing thirty-two unions where women members predominated and showing that they were not adequately represented in the power structure. She further contrasted the high level of union membership among women with a lack of knowledge and lack of positive response regarding unions. She said in her book that women activists in unions

> ...still encounter difficulties with sexism in the form of sexist attitudes, structures that discourage women's involvement and issues that do not reflect the priorities for women in the workforce.

In 1985 Beryl Ashe in a discussion paper, on *Affirmative Action in Trade Unions* outlined some reasons for the lack of involvement of women in unions. The responses to the survey she distributed led her to conclude that the following were major barriers to women becoming involved in trade unions :

- domestic responsibilities;
- lack of confidence;
- lack of interest;
- negative attitudes of family members.

These barriers coincide with reasons elucidated in the few previous studies.

Overcoming Barriers

In overcoming these barriers the union movement must address itself not only to the practical barriers of involvement, such as times of meetings and the provision of quality child care, but also the institutional and attitudinal barriers which have been referred to.

In recognising that capable women do not, for a range of reasons, choose to become actively involved in their unions it must also be recognised that current union structures do mitigate against women. There are valid reasons for saying that unions as we know them in the teacher labour movement are hierarchical, structurally and procedurally formal and dominated by male colleagues. They are certainly no place for the faint-hearted.

The problems associated with gaining power or participation in decision-making bodies of unions are not always because male colleagues have planned it that way. The confidence, experience and

ability of women to fit other responsibilities into the time commitments union involvement requires have precluded many women from participating fully in the past. In 1977 a paper produced by the Working Women's centre suggested that lack of confidence was a real barrier in women's involvement in trade unions.

Given these factors, the principles of affirmative action are as necessary and relevant to the trade union movement as they are in the workforce and education sectors generally. The difficult task of implementing change has to be faced so as to ensure a union movement which is truly representative of its membership.

While some women members of the ATF believe that the wheels of progress do not move with enough haste there has been some progress during the past decade and the issue of representation of women is one which is permanently on the agendas of the ATF and its affiliates. It is an issue however which is not always met with enthusiasm.

The ATF has recently formulated policy on affirmative action in unions and established a women's action program . The direction of efforts to increase the representation of women is through educative programs aimed at encouraging increased participation by women, although discussion still includes the merit of constitutional requirements which ensure the presence of women in the decision-making bodies of unions.

The 1985 ATF conference rejected proposed constitutional amendments which would have ensured equal representation of women at ATF conference and ATF delegations. The proposal tendered by the South Australian Institute of Teachers, the only affiliate whose constitution and practices embody equal representation, sought to extend to ATF the right to insist under its rules that the annual conference and delegations would bear a truer correspondence to the rank and file membership of ATF.

Given the legislative or educative option, ATF's affiliates have chosen the educative one. This model for increasing the representation of women operates at various levels within affiliates but notably in the New South Wales Teachers' Federation (NSWTF). An educative or organisational approach seeks to provide the opportunities for women to go through a process of consciousness raising. The aim is to empower women to act in their own interests and mobilise rank and file women members so that their increased awareness, interest and confidence is translated into greater commitment and participation in their union. Women's action groups are established in each region and a women's contact person, whose duties are outlined within the NSWTF constitution, exists at each school. A proposal aimed at giving nine women unionists experience in their union through assisting a union organiser for one term is to be considered shortly.

All teacher unions have either annual women's conferences, status of women committees, elimination of sexism groups or activities aimed at increasing women's participation in their union and developing their abilities to take positions of responsibility.

The history of women's involvement in the union movement highlights the fact that their struggles have been part of a never-ending battle. At times women have emerged the winners, at other times others fought the battle to its final success long after the first skirmishes developed. The Australian Council of Trade Unions' (ACTU) recent commitment to pursue a test case based on 'comparable worth' is testimony to the lengthy campaign that has been waged to achieve equal pay for women workers.

Through the operation of the Accord, the ACTU is placed in a central role in terms of ongoing negotiation with the Federal Labor Government. The ACTU special unions conference on affirmative action in 1984 decided that, in future discussion and negotiations around the Accord, specific attention be given to the incorporation of ACTU women's policy and the action program for women workers in the Accord, and in the initiatives arising from the Accord.

Conclusion

The union movement is a powerful force for social change and women need to ensure that their demands are incorporated into the mainstream of debates and strategies in regard to this country's future economic and social directions. That places an obligation on women to be active participants in their unions and in the broader labour movement. If women do not pursue their demands through their professional and industrial organisations, it is certain that no one else will take up the cudgels on their behalf.

WOMEN AS CANDIDATES FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION: A SECOND INTERPRETATION

Peter OBrien

Introduction

There are two totally different types of 'true fact' in the universe. They are both genuine fact: both are important to human beings, and they can be, and very commonly are, confused. Type one is the immovable, absolute, ruthless and unarguable facts of the universe. These facts are coldly impersonal and they flatly refuse to make exceptions, being strictly inhuman and inhumane. The other type, type two, is the set of truths-by-consensus. They are subject to change, exceptions can be made and humane considerations can induce changes in their application. They are human and humane. They are subject to argument, appeal and pressure of opinion. With respect to these facts individual opinion is a meaningful concept.

Educational administration both as a field of practice and as a field of study has long operated on the truth by consensus that educational administration is an activity at which males are better than females. This truth by consensus has been elevated to the status of a fact of the universe, at least by those who dominated the study and practice of the field, but it is increasingly a fact under challenge. But as Frasher and Frasher (1980) have noted:

> Research related to the gender factor in educational administration has yielded an unusual phenomenon. Individuals who have searched the literature in this field will testify to the confusing, frequently contradictory, research findings available. Perhaps as a result of this, administrators in general do not expect to garner much of practical value from the library.

In an earlier paper Briggs and OBrien concluded, after reviewing the achievements and selected characteristics of candidates enrolled in the two coursework awards offered by the graduate program in educational administration at the Flinders University of South Australia that

> the groups of men and women candidates, respectively, who have enrolled have not shown any marked disparity with regard to age at first enrolment, highest previous qualification, retention in the Programme, awards obtained or grade point average achieved. It is regrettable that more women have not undertaken the courses of study reviewed here. There is every indication that they would be just as successful in them as their male colleagues.
>
> (Briggs and OBrien, 1984)

Without in any way retracting from that previous conclusion this paper re-examines those previous findings and reinterprets the conclusion in the light of two themes drawn from the research literature (over-achievement or-under-achievement of graduate students and staff-student interaction in graduate programs).

The Flinders University Program in Education Administration

The educational administration program began at Flinders University in 1976. It has two full-time staff whose area of specialisation is educational administration and it draws upon the services of staff in other specialist fields, including part-time staff, to supplement the teaching. In terms of full-time specialist staff, year of origin, number of students and of graduates the program is neither the largest, oldest nor most influential of the educational administration degree and diploma programs in Australian and New Zealand colleges and universities (see Duignan and Teather 1985). Thus in many ways it may be taken as representative of its kind.

Up to and including 1978, students could enrol either in the Master of Educational Administration (M.Ed.Admin.) or in the Diploma in Educational Administration (Dip.Ed.Admin.) program but since then only master's degree candidates have been accepted. Students who have special reasons for not being able to complete the full master's degree program, such as overseas students who are recalled by their government, or employees of the South Australian Education Department or South Australian Department of Technical and Further Education who are transferred to country service, may apply to change their enrolment and to seek the award of the Dip.Ed.Admin. instead.

The master's degree requires two years of full-time study or its part-time equivalent and comprises both coursework and an externally-examined research project. The diploma program requires one year of full-time study or its part-time equivalent and is completed by coursework only. Students are admitted to the program on the basis of their previous academic record regardless of gender and are required to have completed at least two years of work experience.

The Education Administration Candidates 1976-84

This paper like the earlier one (Briggs and OBrien, 1984) considers only those who were accepted as candidates for either award in the years 1976-83 inclusive, while the number of M.Ed.Admin. and Dip.Ed.Admin. graduates includes those who graduated up until May 1984. Though a further six master's and four diploma students completed their program in the period May 1984-May 1985, they are not considered here as the purpose of this paper is a reinterpretation of some of the conclusions of the earlier paper.

In the period under discussion 100 males and 32 females were admitted in the program. Of these students 27 had the South Australian education department as their most recent employer at the time of their first enrolment while a further 3 were employed by the South Australian Catholic education system. Table 1 illustrates the variety of backgrounds from which the program has drawn its candidates.

Of the 132 students who enrolled, 50 had obtained an award, either the M.Ed.Admin. or the Dip.Ed.Admin., by May 1984. Table 2 shows the highest previous qualification held by those students on admission to the educational administration program. The most common previous highest qualification was a university bachelor's degree, which was

held by 29 of the 50 students: qualifications such as the diploma in education were not considered here.

Table 3 presents information concerning completed, continuing and withdrawn candidates. Of the 132 students admitted to the program 50 had obtained an award in the period till May 1984, 54 had left the program without obtaining an award in educational administration (in some cases students had transferred to another award program, for example the master of education or the doctor of philosophy programs) and 26 were still enrolled.

In Table 4 are shown the grade point averages achieved by candidates who had obtained either the M.Ed.Admin. or the Dip.Ed.Admin. award. In interpreting these figures it should be borne in mind that the program permits students to take up to one-quarter of the required coursework from any other approved master's level degree program either within the Flinders University or elsewhere.

These topics are usually reported in student records as 'status' grades and they have been calculated as being equivalent to a Flinders University 'non-graded pass' and weighted accordingly.

The mean age of entering the Flinders University educational administration program of those candidates who obtained an award was 36.1 years: for male graduates the mean age was 36.2 years and for females it was 36.0 years.

Interpretation of Achievement and Selected Characteristics of Candidates 1976-84

Briggs and OBrien (1984) interpreted the achievement and selected characteristics of candidates in the educational administration program from 1976-84 in the light of literature on women as candidates for careers in educational administration. That original interpretation is recapitulated here.

The small number of female candidates in the program reflected the small number of women in administrative positions in the South Australian education system. For example, in 1977, although 58 per cent of teachers (excluding pre-school teachers, hourly paid instructors and teachers acting in principal education officer positions but including school principals) employed by the South Australian education department were female, only 23 per cent of the promotion positions (those of principal, deputy principal and secondary senior) were held by women. In 1984 57 per cent of the teachers were female and 21 per cent of the promotion positions were held by women (South Australian education department Women's Advisory Unit, 1984). The total number of males employed as teachers in July 1982 by the South Australian education department, according to its Statistical Information Unit, was 6,864 while 9,171 females were employed.

The literature suggests a range of reasons for the low proportion of administrative posts in education held by women and similar reasons have been suggested for the limited number of women in top administrative posts elsewhere. For the purpose of discussion these

reasons may be grouped as those depending on the attitudes and actions of others and those for which women are to some extent responsible.

An example of the first group is the claim that one of the most serious problems faced by women in administration is that of 'blocked promotion'. Cooper and Davidson (1983) suggest: 'For the vast majority of women who are struggling for individual recognition and achievement, the road up the executive ladder is not so easy'. Though there is some evidence in the literature (Stockard 1979) that acquaintance with a female administrator in education tends to slightly increase approval of female administrators, if the blocked promotion is caused by sheer prejudice there is little that women can do about it - other, perhaps, than to adopt the tactics advocated by Saul Alinsky (1971).

The nature of organisational structures has been suggested by some writers as constituting a major barrier to women. Aspects of such structures include recruitment and promotion practices which favour women displaying passive, compliant characteristics which are then cited as justification for the unsuitability of women for administration (Acker and van Houten 1974). Schmuck (1977) has indicated that

> Men are the managers of public schools...women face unique deterrents to careers in administration, and traditional practices govern the formal and informal processes of grooming, recruitment and selection that have favoured white males.

Communication networks may exclude women from access to vital information (Lloyd 1984) and socialisation structures may support upwardly mobile males to the detriment of females (Marshall 1980). Kanter (1977) has pointed out that a lone women in a hierarchy of male administrators threatens the homogeneity which gives a sense of security to the group member: several other researchers, for example Cromie (1981), Jabes (1980) and Mai-Dalton and Sullivan (1981) have shown that both male and female administrators tend to favour colleagues of their own gender. As those at administrative levels are likely to be less subject than others to scrutiny and control of their actions, such homogeneity is seen as reducing members' uncertainty about others' behaviour: a minority member might act unpredictably and thus constitute a threat to the rest. Thus women are likely to be placed either in positions where an established routine is to be followed or in staff positions rather than in positions offering possibilities for independent decision making (Kanter 1977). Attempts by women to adapt to this situation by following male norms of behaviour are likely to be punished or ignored as being unsuitable for the group of which they are seen to represent tokens (Ortiz 1980).

The remedy for the circumstances described above is hard to determine. Adkison (1981) in a review of research on women in school administration, put the problem thus:

> If, as Kanter maintains, the homogeneous management group constrains women in order to minimise uncertainty, women's increased participation in training programs and in administrative roles should reduce uncertainty about their probable behaviours...If, as Henley argues, women's participation is

> limited to ensure their subordinate status, women's increased efforts to expand their roles should produce increased organisational efforts to restrict that participation.

Chapman (1975) after reviewing research on women in economics, concluded that well-implemented anti-discrimination policies would provide the only effective remedy and that it would be useless for women to invest in training or other activities since it had not been demonstrated that these would enhance their earning capacity. Adkison (1981) went on to suggest that 'federal, state and local equal employment opportunity legislation and affirmative action policies may have had greater impact on women's aspirations than on institutions'. It may be that the comparatively small number of women enrolling in the graduate program reviewed here reflects women's awareness of this situation but, as Wolf and Fligstein (1979) have suggested, although steps should be taken to alter the behaviour and policies of employers it is also important to encourage women to improve their qualifications.

Women's readiness to make the effort to achieve qualifications which might be expected to improve their chances of becoming administrators depends on their aspirations in this direction. Rossi and Calderwood (1973) provided documentation that, systematically or otherwise, women have been limited in their effort to achieve in, to earn from, and to participate in higher education. But what emerges from their book is an impression that women have co-operated in this failure to achieve, perhaps because they have been insufficiently motivated by the values of a male-oriented society or inadequately socialised or, knowing these values, unable to bear the heavy costs of commitment that males who run institutions have set or even that they were unwilling to risk failure. Nieva and Gutek (1979) after surveying the literature on female job aspirations and expectations, claimed that no real sex differences existed in the importance attached to intrinsic job factors but they did suggest that women had lower aspirations than did men:

> What women want from a job tends to be shaped by what they expect to receive, and what they expect tends to be shaped by what they or others like them are receiving or have received in the past. The realities of the present affect aspiration for the future.

This view was corroborated in studies reviewed by Adkison (1981), which linked low aspirations with sex role socialisation resulting from society's expectations of women:

> Sex typing of school administration combined with sex role socialisation serves to discourage women from preparing for an administrative career. While many women prepare for and enter careers in education, they are less likely than men to express a desire to be school administrators...Even women in administration admit they were reluctant to seek their positions...Among principals, women are less likely than men to aspire to positions beyond the principalship.

Edson (1979) found that women are more likely to go into research that into public school administration while Hesse-Biber (1985) found from a survey of male and female perceptions of future career plans

that female respondents selected careers traditionally defined as acceptable for women and expressed less confidence than their male counterparts that they would be successful in their work.

Adkison (1981) did report signs that more women were deciding to prepare themselves for careers in educational administration. In the late 1960s, 8 per cent of students in educational administration programs affiliated with the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) were women. By 1971-72 21 per cent of master's degree graduates in educational administration were women, and by 1975-76 this figure had risen to 29 per cent. Stockard and Kempner (1981) reviewed the enrolments in educational administration programs in several western states in the United States and found that for the period 1974-79 the figures for male and female enrolments in credentialling programs were fairly stable at 70 per cent male and 30 per cent female. Interestingly the figures for non-credentialling degree programs in the same period were 56 per cent male and 43 per cent female lending support to Edson's contention that women tend to go into research rather than school administration.

The number of female master's graduates in educational administration at The Flinders University for the period 1976-84 constituting 31 per cent of the total, is in accord with the above figures. Females comprised 33 per cent of diplomates. Adkison (1981) added that in the period 1971-76 women's share of doctorates in educational administration rose from 6 per cent to 20 per cent. In the period reported in this paper women represented 75 per cent of the doctorates awarded in educational administration.

Gross and Trask (1976) indicated that women are likely to spend a longer time than men as teachers before achieving an administrative position in education while Silver (1977) reported that women had been teaching slightly longer than men before entering a graduate program in educational administration. The mean age at the time of entering The Flinders University program of those male and female candidates respectively who completed a qualification was calculated to see whether the women were on average older than their male counterparts. It was found that the mean age of entrants in this group was 36.1 years: for men it was 36.2 years and for women it was 36.0 years. Silver's (1977) 'typical' female job candidate was about 35 years old and was enrolled in a doctoral program which she expected to complete at the age of 36 or 37 years old. The mean age of female entrants at Flinders University is comparable but the candidates here reviewed were seeking a master's degree or a diploma and not a doctorate. This may be explained by the fact that in general Australian educational administrators are not expected to hold any qualifications in educational administration and higher degrees of any kind are rarely encountered in the teaching force. In 1983 members of the teaching force (as defined earlier) employed by the South Australian education department included seven men and three women with doctorates.

The highest previous qualification possessed by all candidates who completed either the M.Ed.Admin. or the Dip.Ed.Admin. at Flinders University was investigated to see whether or not a different pattern emerged for the groups of males and females respectively. As shown

in Table 2 although there were more men than women, equal numbers already had a master's or an honours bachelor's degree. There is thus a slight tendency for women as a group to have higher previous qualifications than men but the numbers involved are too small for this tendency to be regarded as important. A much larger proportion of the men had university bachelor's pass degrees which represent the median qualification in the ranking in Table 2.

As the literature discusses the job aspirations of women and indicates that they need persistence in order to overcome barriers to promotion Table 3 was constructed to show the numbers of men and women respectively who had left the program, had obtained either the M.Ed.Admin. or the Dip.Ed.Admin. or were continuing candidates. The latter group comprised two students who had been granted an intermission of candidacy and 26 whose studies were not yet completed or who were awaiting the reports of external examiners on their research project. As shown in Table 3 some 54 of the 132 students who had enrolled in the program had left: the reasons for departure included transfer to one of the other programs within the school or university, removal from Adelaide, inadequate standards of work and personal and/or work-related reasons. It cannot be claimed that the figures in Table 3 constitute a clear measure of candidates' aspirations or persistence. Whereas in the early years of the program, that is, 1976 - 1978 inclusive, candidates had the option of enrolling either as a master's degree or as a diploma candidate, in later years this option has not been available. The decision to withdraw from the program or to opt for the lesser award might reflect the pressure of external circumstances or limited academic ability or a change of interests rather than low aspirations or low persistence. Nevertheless, insofar as conclusions can be drawn from the figures shown in Table 3, it is interesting to note that there is no appreciable difference between those for men and those for women.

One reason which might account for the small number of women who have achieved administrative positions in education could be that they are, in fact, less intrinsically able than men to perform the requisite tasks. Although such a claim was commonly made in past years it is rarely encountered in current, serious, literature. Indeed, Frasher and Frasher (1979, 1980) cite details of research studies which consistently show that in nearly every comparison of actual administrative performance there were no gender differences or women received higher ratings. Women in some administrative posts may be found to be ineffective because of lack of co-operation from male colleagues or from exclusion from their networks (Adkison 1981). It is not claimed that success in the educational administration program at Flinders University is in itself an indicator or administrative ability. It is, however, an indicator of academic ability applied to issues related to administration. The grade point average scores of male and female graduates and diplomate were calculated, therefore, to ascertain whether females had higher or lower scores than males (Table 4). A t-test analysis produced no significant differences between the scores of male and of female students. It should be noted that this calculation did not take into account the research component of the master's degree which is externally assessed on a pass/fail basis.

Briggs and OBrien concluded that, though fewer women than men have enrolled in the educational administration program at Flinders University, the groups of male and female candidates, respectively, who have enrolled have not shown any marked disparity with regard to age at first enrolment, highest previous qualification achieved, award obtained, retention in the program or grade point average scores:

> If, as some researchers have claimed, the fact that there are comparatively few female educational administrators has adversely affected education systems, it is regrettable that more women have not undertaken the courses of study reviewed here. There is every indication that they would be just as successful in them as their male colleagues.
>
> (Briggs and OBrien 1984)

The Conclusion Reinterpreted

Berelson, when he spoke about the 1045 findings about human behaviour derived from the study which he had co-directed with Steiner, compressed the findings into three propositions (Berelson 1979):

1. Some do, some don't.
2. The differences aren't very great.
3. It's more complicated than that.

These three propositions might serve as answers to the question: 'Do females perform as well as males in graduate programs in educational administration?' They will serve as a starting point for a reinterpretation of the Briggs and OBrien paper's conclusion.

In many ways the conclusion cited above is a left-handed compliment. It can be claimed that it represented conclusions about success and influence drawn from androcentric paradigms: Gaskell (1983) and Shakeshaft and Nowell (1984) have pointed to the fact that many of the dominant paradigms of status-attainment, administration and organisatinal aspirations of men and women about careers in administration and the conclusion may represent, therefore, only part of the truth.

Moreover, the data reported in the original paper are group data and what holds for the group cannot validly be inferred to hold for each member of the group. To infer thus would be to commit the fallacy of division.

In this section of the paper the conclusion originally drawn by Briggs and OBrien is re-examined in the light of two themes drawn from the literature. These themes are that of over- and under-achievement and that of staff-student interaction in graduate programs. As achievement is related to staff-student interaction it will be at times difficult to make clear distinctions in this reinterpretation.

A question which arises in considering the achievement of males and females in graduate programs is that of why so few women enrol. The proportion of males to females reported for this program compares

with the proportions cited from overseas literature (for example Stockard and Kempner 1981). Aitken (1982), however, had found that those women who were well educated and who became voters or entered the workforce between 1969 and 1979 are the most highly politicised group in the whole community. While not wishing to imply a relationship between politicisation and enrolment in a graduate program in educational administration it is permissible to ask whether Aitken's findings might not suggest that the enrolment of women ought not to be higher, given that teachers may be seen as among the most well educated groups in the community.

Various authors have commented on attrition and retention rates at colleges and universities. Sheldrake (1976) in a study of why students who had enrolled at Flinders University in the period 1966 - 1975 left the University without completing their degree course, found the part-time students were more likely to withdraw than full-time ones, whether this was to avoid failure or for other reasons. He found also that men were slightly less likely to withdraw from courses than women and that women were more likely to have withdrawn to avoid failure or for other personal reasons but that the differences were not statistically significant. Other reasons cited for withdrawal were ill-health, too-hard work, removal elsewhere or deferral and failure to re-enrol. Sheldrake (1976) concluded that his figures 'provide a slight, but tantalising insight into the reasons that students are prepared to offer for withdrawal; they hardly explain why so many 'successful' students decide to leave university'. Though Sheldrake's study predated the beginning of the educational administration program, anecdotal evidence gathered during the last nine years suggests that those students who withdrew from the program shared the same reasons as those in Sheldrake's study, but other reasons may apply, particularly in a graduate program. Solomon (1976) has suggested that women are less likely to go into debt to finance a graduate education that are men while Berg and Ferber (1983) have claimed that women are more likely than men to receive moral and other support from their parents and their partners. Epstein (1973) claimed that women who withdraw are more likely to be met by sympathy, understanding and affection than are men and Hoffman (1974) has said that they are more likely to have options available to them that men do not.

Though no appreciable differences were found in the figures presented in Table 3 concerning withdrawal and retention, insofar as conclusions can be drawn it would be wrong to infer that the same sets of pressures operated on the two groups of students. It could be argued that factors encouraging persistence in a graduate program operate in favour of women, if one accepts the implications of the research literature cited above. It is interesting to note, for example, that no female student has withdrawn from the program because of marital breakdown whereas this reason has been cited by several males (the program of one female student was adversely affected by the trauma surrounding a divorce but the marital breakdown had preceded enrolment in the program).

The question of enrolment, attrition and retention as an indicator of over- or under-achievement by males and females enrolled in the program is thus problematical.

Other factors suggest that the picture is not clear cut. It is strongly suggested in the literature that the success or failure of female students in graduate programs is associated with such issues as role models and interaction with staff. Astin and Kent (1983) reported positive associations between self esteem and knowing at least one staff member personally, while Tidball (1976) noted that faculty members tend to be supportive of students of their own gender, a view supported by others, for example, Jabes (1980) and Stevens and DeNisi (1980). Estler (1975), Schmuck (1975) and Weber, Feldman and Poling (1980) noted respondents felt that the absence of role models dampened women's aspirations, while Denmark (1980), from a study of students in psychology doctoral programs, concluded that productivity was related to same gender supervisors.

In the light of such findings it is pertinent to consider Briggs and OBrien's original conclusion in the light of certain characteristics of the program and its staff. There are two full-time staff members, both of whom are similarly qualified in academic terms (both possess the doctorate). For most of the period under discussion, 1976-84, each has occupied highly visible administrative positions within the school of education and the university. The female staff member has served as program co-ordinator (1976-77 and 1980-82) vice-chairperson of the school (1977-78) and chairperson (1983 to date). She was also a successful school principal for a number of years and may thus be deemed to be a successful role model for women graduate students in educational administration. In the gender composition of its full-time staff, the Flinders University educational administration program may thus be unique among Australian and New Zealand programs, but the effect of this on students' achievement is difficult to discern. For example, though there is a slight tendency for female students in the M.Ed.Admin. to be supervised by the female staff member (five of the nine M.Ed.Admin. women graduates have been so supervised) it is impossible to ascribe this to same sexhomophily rather than, say, to concern for the subject specialisation of the staff.

It is difficult to determine what effect the gender of the full-time staff members had on the achievement of the male and female students enrolled in the program.

Feldman (1974) and Hitchman (1976) have shown that in American and Canadian graduate programs women tend to receive better grades than men. One possible explanation of this (Adler 1976) is that this could be a function of the greater self selection of women into graduate studies, which would lead to more qualified women students. It was not found that, for the groups of male and female students respectively, there were appreciable differences in the grade point average scores (see Table 4) but a slight tendency was found for women as a group to have higher previous qualifications than men as a group (see Table 2).

From the overseas evidence, it could be concluded that women as a group in the Flinders University educational administration program might be under achieving. It is interesting to refer to a study by Stockard and Wood (1984) in which they examined the achievements of high school graduates. They noted that, although the highest achieving females often have lower average ability test scores than

the highest achieving males, this results not from the under achievement of the brightest females but from the fact that females with a wide range of ability levels receive good grades and only the very brightest males high grades. In this context, it is perhaps pertinent to note Angrist's and Almquist's (1975) comment on female undergraduates:

> The student who knows the material and gives tangible evidence of her brightness to faculty members will reap a harvest. She will find professors interested in her ideas, eager to answer questions, ready to direct her to further information, and above all, willing to get to know her.

This again raises the issue of staff-student interaction and its effect on achievement. While it is conceded that it may be exceeding permissible limits to generalise from undergraduate and high school research to a graduate program, the question does arise whether or not the reported grade point average scores represent something other than mastery of the content matter, for example the operation of a 'Pygmalion effect' (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968).

In connection with the grade point average scores which reflect grades achieved in the coursework component only of the degree and diploma program, it is pertinent to comment that the dominant form of assignment on which these grades were based is the essay. It has been demonstrated that female students show less growth in methematical and quantitative skills than do their male colleagues and that females are advantaged in essay type questions (Hesse-Biber 1985; Stockard and Wood 1984) even in such areas as Physics where differences in tested performance are well known (Clay 1982, 1983; Kelly 1981). If such differences hold in graduate programs in educational administration, do the grade point average scores present a true picture of achievement - whatever that is?

Discussion and Conclusion

Even a cursory examination of the research literature suggests that the original conclusion of Briggs and OBrien that females do as well as males in graduate programs in educational administration represents only one layer of the overall truth. The original conclusion was based on data about groups of students and was sufficient insofar as it went, that is, that there were no marked disparities between the two groups on certain selected variables and that, based on this finding, females would be just as successful in the program as their male colleagues. The conclusion was insufficient in that it did not add 'as a group'.

It would be wrong to infer anything from the data and the conclusion about the success of individuals. Neither would it be proper to infer from the data and conclusions that women in educational administration are 'an underachieving group' (Byrne 1978) or an over-achieving group either for that matter.

It is apparent from the literature on males and females as graduate students that achievement is related to a number of factors such as the form of assessment used, partner and parental support,

willingness to go into debt to finance graduate studies, the degree of sympathy and support available and the impression given to faculty members by 'bright' students. Without a knowledge of how these factors and others operate, to conclude that one group of students would do as well as another becomes a non-conclusion.

Other unknowns further contaminate the conclusion. Students are selected on the basis of previous academic record and gender is not considered either for admission purposes or in planning program structure. It is possible that this procedure itself discriminates against one or another group of students. Freeman (1975) would claim, for example, that an academic program which neither encourages nor discourages students of either gender is inherently discriminatory against women because it fails to take into account the differentiating external environments from which male and female students come, a viewpoint also held by Astin (1979). But Berg and Ferber (1983) have demonstrated the disadvantages from which males suffer in education, claiming that there exists a parallel between the position of female students in the sciences and male students in education in terms of lesser achievement.

The notion that it was 'regrettable that more women have not undertaken the courses of study reviewed here' (Briggs and OBrien 1984) represents perhaps both an androcentric view of success and a notion of group parity, that is, that a group represented among graduate students by some variant of that percentage. This is a quota system, but group parity is not individual equality.

It becomes apparent then that the data considered and the conclusion drawn in the original paper represent only one layer of truth. There are different layers to the overall truth of the situation concerning the achievement of male and female students in graduate programs in educational administration and to reject any interpretation would be to dismiss important data that could aid in understanding the issues involved. The search for a causal mechanism which explains achievement is complicated by the fact that the viewpoint of the correspondent may dictate the alternate explanation accepted. This however, helps to emphasise the complexity of the situation and ensures that there is less chance that the phenomenon will be oversimplified.

Conclusion

This paper began by noting that educational administration has long operated on a truth-by-consensus that males were better than females at the activity of educational administration. This truth is now under attack. In the meantime, another truth-by-consensus is emerging: that with regard to the position of women in educational administration 'we know what the position is'. With regard to the matters covered in this paper, that is the achievement of women as candidates for awards in educational administration, the conclusion dissents from this truth. As Frasher and Frasher (1980) have noted, the evidence on the gender factor in educational administration is both confusing and frequently contradictory and there are many things not known. For example, it is not known whether colleges and

universities should develop special programs for women who wish to become educational administrators and provide useful knowledge and skills or, instead, segregate them, mark them as deficient and convey misinformation. In such a situation the gratification of having an opinion should be delayed.

It is expected of scholars that they should accept but little and then only that little which has withstood the test of critical opinion. Handlin (1971) wrote: 'there can be no scholarly discussion of any broader matter until there is agreement - total, unqualified, and unconditional - on the ineluctable and binding quality of the data'. Until such data become available, built on good, careful, reasonably agnostic observation (as opposed to experimental manipulation, Burton 1979), to suggest policy options concerning ways of improving the position of women as candidates for awards in educational administration would be (to use Oliver Wendell Holmes' words about the activities of lawyers) to spend time 'shovelling smoke'. At the moment the only proper answer which can be given to the question whether or not men and women (individually or as groups) perform in a comparable manner in graduate programs in educational administration is:

1. Some do, some don't.
2. The differences aren't very great.
3. It's more complicated than that .

(Berelson 1979)

TABLE 1

LAST EMPLOYER, AT TIME OF ENROLMENT, OF CANDIDATES WHO COMPLETED AN AWARD

	Masters		Diplomates	
Employer	Male	Female	Male	Female
South Australian education department	8	4	10	5
South Australian department of technical and further education	3	2	–	–
South Australian Catholic education system	2	1	–	–
College of advanced education	2	2	1	1
University	2	–	1	–
Church organisation	1	–	–	–
Overseas government service or instrumentality	1	–	1	1
Overseas college university	1	–	1	–
Total	20	9	14	7

TABLE 2

HIGHEST PREVIOUS QUALIFICATION OF ALL CANDIDATES WHO OBTAINED AN AWARD

Qualification	Male	Female
Master's degree	2	2
Honours bachelor's degree	4	4
University bachelor's degree	23	6
Non-university bachelor's degree	3	2
Other	2	2
Total	34	16

TABLE 3

COMPLETED, CONTINUING AND WITHDRAWN CANDIDATES

Candidate	Male	Female
Candidates ever enrolled	100	32
Total number who have obtained an award	34	16
Candidates who completed the Master's degree	20	9
Candidates who completed the Diploma	14	7
Candidates still enrolled or awaiting results	20	6
Candidates on intermission	2	-
Candidates who have left the program	44	10

TABLE 4

GRADE POINT AVERAGES ACHIEVED BY CANDIDATES

	Grade Point Average		
	Male	Female	All
Candidates who obtained an award	1.95	2.08	1.99
Candidates who obtained the Master's degree	1.86	1.68	1.80
Candidates who obtained the Diploma	2.07	2.59	2.56

An A Grade = 3
A B Grade = 2
A C Grade = 1
A non-graded pass = 1
A grade obtained in a program other than the Flinders University ed.admin.program = 1

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LESSONS FROM THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PILOT PROGRAM

Maureen Bickley

Introduction

Just over a year ago in July 1984 the Australian College of Education sponsored its second Women in Educational Management conference in Armidale. That conference proved a watershed in at least two respects.

For a number of higher education institutions, the data collection on the position of females within their institutions and the follow-up activities after the conference constituted a significant catalyst. The timing was opportune because the *Green Paper on 1984 Affirmative Action for Women* has just been tabled in Parliament and on 2 July the government's affirmative action pilot program commenced with the participation of twenty-eight of Australia¢s major private sector employers and three higher education institutions. Over 200,000 employees were involved in the pilot program.

The second watershed was a personal one. Shortly after the Armidale Conference I left my academic position at the Western Australian Institute of Technology to work as a consultant with the Office of the Status of Women¢s Affirmative Action Resource Unit. This meant moving to Canberra with my family and spending the best part of a year commuting between Canberra, Adelaide and Brisbane to meet with program participants as well as attending meetings and seminars in Victoria, New South Wales and Western Australia.

This paper reviews the pilot program and draws out the lessons that have been learned through the twelve months and their implications for the education sector. The pilot has just finished and the Affirmative Action Resource Unit (AARU) is in the process of 'self
destructing', that is, staff are returning to their previous positions.

The Affirmative Action Pilot Program

In 1984 the government set up a working party to review the pilot and to make recommendations to the government on the form and content of affirmative action legislation. All parties affected by such legislation are represented on the working party - employers, trade unions, education institutions, women, relevant Ministers and a member of the Opposition. During the pilot the government and the participants learned a great deal about the difficulties and successes of introducing affirmative action. The participants presented a considerable amount of information to the working party at a case study day in April 1985 and have completed a detailed questionnaire at the conclusion of the pilot. The AARU conducted public meetings in all capital cities and have been involved in numerous speaking engagements. Enormous quantities of affirmative action materials have been prepared, printed and distributed. In addition to these activities, press advertisements invited interested individuals and groups to make submissions on affirmative action legislation

proposals. The quality and quantity of submissions received was commendable. The working party has already met four times and will meet several more times to prepare its recommendations to the government later.

It might be appropriate in light of some of the papers and discussions at this conference to take a little time to clarify the term 'affirmative action'. It seems that some people regard affirmative action as synonymous with positive discrimination or quotas. This is not the Commonwealth's position. The policy discussion paper on *Affirmative Action for Women* (Green Paper) published in 1984 states:

> The Government defines Affirmative Action as a systematic means, determined by the employer in consultation with senior management, employees and unions, of achieving equal employment opportunity (EEO) for women. Affirmative Action is compatible with appointment and promotion on the basis of the principle of merit, skills and qualifications.

As the Prime Minister said in his tabling speech 'put quite simply, EEO is our objective and affirmative action is the way to achieve it.'

The Government has never supported the introduction of quotas but has encouraged the development of strategies, goals and numerical targets consistent with appointment by merit. This of course begs the question 'What is merit?' Warren Louden has described how the Western Australian education department, as part of its affirmative action program, has reviewed merit to incorporate a range of skills, abilities and qualifications more often identified by and in women.

Although the pace of change may be less rapid in the short term than if quotas were introduced the Commonwealth believes its merit-based approach is both more achievable, realistic and sustainable. There are some obvious 'traps' attached to quotas which must be avoided. For instance the appointment of the second best and not the best person for the job has long term community costs. Although it may be argued that employment equity is achieved by quotas both the efficiency of employment and the quality of service delivery is reduced. Government employment is not an end in itself but the means to an end - the delivery of goods and services to the community. Equal employment opportunity is a means to improve that delivery.

However, the definition of positive discrimination is itself not an easy one. It is known that women begin in the system as well or better qualified than men but as a result of women's experiences within the system (what Shirley Sampson called 'their apprenticeship') they fail to gain experiences valued by the system. An affirmative action program would involve a range of strategies designed to compensate and overcome this deficiency. It may mean that the staff training and development budget gets turned on its head for a period of time while resources are allocated to meet the systems most pressing needs, that of its women staff. But is an 80 per cent staff training and development expenditure on women (67 per cent) discriminating against men? It is argued that this is simply one affirmative action strategy designed to achieve EEO. Where differences of opinion exist is in the area of appointment. The

Commonwealth would argue against the bypassing of the best person for a job and the appointment of the second, third or fourth best person who are women; that is, providing both the processes of selection and the criteria used in selection are indeed appropriate for the position and free from sex bias.

It should be remembered that if there are special reasons why, in the short term, it is appropriate for only a woman to be employed in a certain position - a so called sex-tagged position - then application can be made for an exemption under the Sex Discrimination Act and the advertisement and recruitment can proceed as such.

Lessons from the Pilot

The pilot program has been enormously successful and has provided four 'lessons' to explore.

Introduce comprehensive plan

Firstly, any process of change must be both systematic and comprehensive. Fragmented, one-off changes will certainly be marginalised and eventually swamped. It recommends that participants proceed through a series of eight steps. The pilot indicated that often the skipping of one step or its undertaking in a token form meant that the introduction of affirmative action was more easily slowed, sidetracked or compromised. Since an affirmative action program concentrates on the elimination of systemic discrimination, it requires a comprehensive, system-wide introduction. Changes in selection procedures need to be complemented by changes in job design, access to training and opportunities for promotion. Consultation with women and unions proved a vital though difficult step for many participants. The importance of securing and utilising management commitment to EEO has been highlighted as a major factor in ensuring that the change program is integrated into all activities and is taken seriously by the organisation. The Commonwealth program's eight steps are a useful guide for introducing affirmative action and are set out in detail in the implementation manual.

Accelerate rate of social change

Secondly, the pilot program has shown that it is possible to accelerate the rate of social change. The majority of the pilot participants had little or no involvement with affirmative action or EEO activities prior to July 1984. Within a year almost all had introduced significant and lasting changes in the way they advertised for and selected applicants, in training and promotional opportunities for women and in their collection of data on the position of women within their workforce. Many of these changes are reported in the progress report issued by the AARU in May 1985. Once the private sector recognised the benefits of affirmative action they acted quickly and decisively to secure them. These participants have called upon the education sector to accelerate its response rate in the same way.

Recruit women for non-traditional jobs

Thirdly, many pilot participants reported great difficulty in recruiting women and girls to work in non-traditional jobs. The AARU produced a paper for employers to assist them when employing female apprentices for the first time and offered consultancy support to three South Australian companies Santos, Simpsons and Mitsubishi. All of these sought females for engineering and apprenticeship positions but when only 5 females have graduated with Bachelors of Engineering in the past two years from South Australia then their difficulties in securing a female engineer are not surprising. Only 8 per cent of engineer graduates are female yet this is almost twice the figure it was five or ten years ago. When participants advertised apprenticeships for females and males they received few or no female applicants. Some went to schools and technical and further education colleges to speak to classes in the hope of securing greater numbers of female applicants, again with little success. Participants have called on schools and tertiary institutions to do more. The all too familiar cyclical argument of schools pointing the finger at employers who do not provide opportunities for girls; and employers blaming schools for not preparing girls adequately in terms of pre-requisites and attitudes now has an opportunity to be broken. Many employers are for the first time actively seeking girls to fill non-traditional jobs. The demand is there - affirmative action legislation will only serve to strengthen this. Girls completing years 10 and 12 in 1985 will be the target for employers and institutions seeking females in non-traditional jobs and courses. Success in these areas requires more than just preparation through pre-requisites; it requires an understanding of women's position in the workforce and a number of social skills, including those needed to deal effectively with the sexual harrassment prevalent in these areas. Girls also need some understanding of the values of networking and perhaps a greater sense of confidence and determination to succeed.

Next year's senior classes will have even wider opportunities. Economists have shown that in Australia's sex segregated labour market, females working in non-traditional areas earn, on average, a greater percentage of the male wage than females concentrated in the predominantly female occupations. But females often have a hard row to hoe in these non-traditional areas. The pilot program and future affirmative action legislation will certainly make the trip a little less harrowing. Just as changes in an organisation must be comprehensive so too must changes in labour market programs be integrated with educational programs to ensure one does not frustrate the progress of the other.

Develop education/employment interface

Some employers have actively sought female applicants through school visits. The development of the education/employment or school/employer interface is the fourth aspect flowing from the pilot experience. Perceptions of students and in particular those of the parents, lag behind changes in employment patterns. The demand for teaching places after the teacher 'boom' had ended was a good example of this. Studies show girls in 1985 still expect to be secretaries, sales assistants, teachers, nurses and clerks. Neither schools nor employers can change these attitudes and perceptions single handedly.

The more creative, aggressive use of interface activities, such as work experience placements for girls in non-traditional jobs, the exposure of female students to role models employed in non-traditional jobs, the involvement of major EEO employers with careers counsellors, and special parents programs could all be used to accelerate attitude change. This role of the employer/school interface is not a new discovery but what is new is the new climate among employers created by the pilot and perhaps a new energy generated by imminent affirmative legislation.

It is important that in the next few months a number of possibilities for facilitating co-operative arrangements between employers and the education sector are explored which will complement affirmative action legislation.

Conclusion

In conclusion the pilot program has shown that it is possible to accelerate the process of labour market change but to do so requires the commitment of senior management and of corporate resources to introduce a comprehensive and systematic program. While the pilot has pointed out the deficiencies in the education and training of women and girls it has also produced a much improved climate for co-operative efforts by employers and the education sector in seeking a solution. If the benefits of the co-operative policy development between employers and the Office of the Status of Women in the pilot is any indication of the unfolding possibilities then the future is indeed much brighter than thought possible one year ago at the 1984 conference on women in higher education management.

GETTING PAST 'SHOCK-HORROR': STAGES IN THE ACCEPTANCE OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IN AN ORGANISATION

Hester Eisenstein

The New South Wales government has since 1980 been implementing a program of affirmative action under Part IXA of the *Anti-Discrimination Act*. The Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment is charged with this work. As senior adviser in the office since 1981 and more recently as assistant director since 1984 I have had a fair amount of experience in seeing organisations and individuals react to the impact of this legislation.

This paper outlines a paradigm of common stages that people and institutions go through as they draw up an equal employment opportunity management plan and then begin to take action to achieve the objectives set forth in the plan. In order to understand these stages one needs to know that Part IXA provides for institutions to develop a statistical analysis of their workforce by means of a confidential questionnaire, a critical review of the personnel practices within the organisation and a set of strategies for change. These are clearly set forth with objectives, specific actions to be taken with responsibility for those actions allocated to named individual officers, some procedure for evaluation of the strategies and a target date for completion.

Commonly each organisation designates, or preferably appoints after external advertisement, an equal employment opportunity (EEO) coordinator to carry out this task and designates a very senior officer in the organisation to supervise the work and to lend support to the enterprise on an institutional basis. By now, of course, the larger government organisations in New South Wales have not only an EEO officer but an EEO unit of up to fifteen officers with specialised functions, such as liaison officer on behalf of Aboriginal employees, staff development officer on EEO issues and research officer to establish and monitor statistical records. Thus the work of implementing EEO strategies in the organisation is well and truly an operating part of its life, although it would be an exaggeration to say that these developments have occurred without a good deal of external prodding from the Office and occasionally some forceful representations from the Minister responsible as well.

In the process, one has had the occasion to see how individuals and groups react to the actualisation of the law in the creation of jobs to carry out EEO duties, the redirection of resources toward EEO implementation and changes to procedures in response to EEO initiatives. Obviously there is considerable variation in these reactions. The people who are themselves the members of the 'target groups' of the legislation - currently, women, migrants of non-English-speaking background, Aborigines, and people with physical disabilities - would have a different set of reactions to people not members of these (overlapping) categories. The paradigm outlined here generally speaking is descriptive of members of the majority culture - that is, men of English-speaking background accustomed to the culture of organisations as they were prior to the introduction of EEO policy. But with some variations the paradigm may also well apply to target group members who feel ambivalent about their inclusion in what is, an

intervention that brings shock waves of change that are not always experienced as welcome.

The first stage is one of shock, horror and disbelief. This is the stage in which individuals query the legitimacy of the enterprise at a fundamental level. Why has the government passed such legislation? Is it not a complete waste of the taxpayers' dollar? What is it these women want anyway? Often people are unaware that in New South Wales women are only one of the target groups of the legislation. During this stage, individuals (and organisations in a corporate sense) are dismayed at having been brought under the legislation, resent and fear its impact and are full of misgivings, often based on serious misinformation. One government department was swept by rumours in the first year of the legislation (from 1980 to 1981) that the government policy would result in the sacking of half of the male professional staff and the hiring of women in their place to reach a 50:50 ratio. They learned with relief that the office required numerical or percentage targets that were incremental and short-term, for example, from zero representation of women in a given job classification to two women or 5 per cent in a two-year period, via selection on a merit basis[1].

The second stage is one of critical inquiry. In this stage people have got over their shock and have begun to inform themselves of the actual requirements of the legislation, the office and how the legislation will affect them and their interests. The preparation of the EEO management plan often brings people from stage one to stage two by virtue of their being included in the work, whether this involves filling out the questionnaire, participation on a working party to review personnel practices, or selection to serve on an advisory committee that assists the EEO coordinator in preparing the data for the final report. Others move to the stage of critical inquiry by virtue of hearing an EEO talk that strikes them as convincing or as the result of a personal experience - for example, the arguments of a daughter at the family dinner table.

The third stage in the paradigm is the action phase. This occurs when an organisation actually begins to move, to take actions as directed by the EEO management plan, and to affect thereby the working life of the organisation. For example, the head of the organisation (a secretary of a department or the principal of a college of advanced education) issues a directive that no one can serve after a specified date on a selection committee without having been through a course on selection techniques. Alternatively, the organisation sets up an internal grievance mechanism and invites applications from staff members to be trained as grievance officers on EEO matters. Any visible decision that changes previous procedures and makes new

1. Ziller Alison, 'Defining Merit' a keynote address at a conference 27 September 1985, available from the Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment, 8 - 18 Bent Street, Sydney, NSW 2000

requirements upon staff members initiates this phase, which is characterised by the fact that EEO policy has begun to bite. It moves from being an idea or a policy in the abstract to being an entity that affects the working life of members of the organisation.

Needless to say, stage three is immediately followed by stage four which is reaction or backlash. This is when the opponents of the EEO policy come out of the woodwork and actively oppose the new procedures. Alternatively, they can begin to white-ant the new policy more surreptitiously, via campaigns of rumours about the EEO officer, and (in more blatant instances) via intensification of sexual and racial harassment aimed toward those they perceive will be benefiting from the new regime of EEO if it is allowed to prevail.

In discussions of this paradigmn it has been put to me that it is difficult to distinguish between stage one and stage four, that is, between shock, horror and disbelief, and backlash. But the distinction I am making here is between the attitudes and reactions prevailing before a program takes effect and those aroused since the program's effects have become visible in the workplace. (In an unkind but telling throwaway line Dr Peter Wilenski has said that Australia is the only country in the Western world where you can have backlash without reform!)

Finally stage five I term ownership and innovation. In this stage individuals have gone beyond their reactions of anger and disbelief or resentment and have come to see that EEO has the potential for improving the organisation overall. The classic instance here is the head of organisation who realises that the collection of statistics for EEO purposes will represent a major database for other management planning. From seeing the EEO policy as an unwarranted intrusion upon his or her autonomy as a senior executive, he or she moves to seeing it as a tool by which he or she can have a better grasp on the workings of the organisation.

In the ownership and innovation stage, people understand EEO issues and policies sufficiently to have digested the implications and to have begun thinking for themselves about what kinds of initiatives can be brought in as part of an EEO plan. This stage can and ideally should occur at all levels of an organisation. Trade union members and officials begin to see the benefits of removing discriminatory award provisions which deny benefits unfairly to some categories of workers. An example of an EEO initiative that brings extra benefits to workers is the introduction of English language classes on the job. The same argument applies to the introduction of childcare as an industrial right.

In elaborating this paradigm there has been a deliberate move back and forth between characterising individuals and characterising organisations. This is considered accurate, in that the process of change must be undergone by individuals in an organisation, and also by the organisation itself as a kind of organism with a shared culture and history. The process needs to occur at both levels for EEO ultimately to succeed.

The paper has focused upon attitudinal change, which is of course only one aspect of the total process. It is arguable that behavioural

change must proceed attitudinal change and often in an EEO program this is the case: that is, the action phase of an EEO program requires changed behaviours in the workplace. Only later does the behaviour become voluntary rather than a form of lip-service.

In the long run however a healthy EEO program must get to stage five to flourish. This may seem a utopian objective in the light of the public outcry that has greeted the announcement of federal affirmative action legislation. However the New South Wales experience with affirmative action gives ground for optimism. That some individuals and organisations - however small in number - have passed from shock-horror to ownership and innovation is a piece of evidence that this process can occur and will over time.

When this paradigm was discussed in Queensland some months ago the question was put from the floor about what steps could be taken to get to the shock-horror stage. Perhaps in Queensland that stage is currently about to be reached. New South Wales is further down the track. Good advice to people seeking to make use of the paradigm is to bear it in mind and to use considerable energy and patience in persuading people to move from shock-horror to critical inquiry. With any luck a certain percentage of people affected by an EEO program - and of course the members of target groups who will stand to benefit directly from the program - will move directly from stage two to stage five and act as catalysts within the organisation. Others will inevitably move at their own pace through the stages and some will remain stuck at backlash forever. The role of EEO officers and those sympathetic to their work is to shepherd people skillfully through the stages and to make sure that the EEO program proceeds in an orderly and efficient manner. There is no remedy for the drama occasioned by rapid social change. But the countervailing force of education is a powerful agent in ensuring that the objectives of EEO policy are met rather than obstructed.

MAKING PROGRESS

Rosemary Gracanin

Introduction

This paper presents comments and reflections on the activities and interests of the past three days rather than a conference evaluation. South Australian colleagues have contributed to the paper in their usual supportive and collaborative way.

The conference ranged over a smorgasbord of issues from which a few have been selected for discussion, beginning by looking at the three aims of the conference.

The Current Position

The first aim was that participants should gain a clear picture of the current position of women in management in primary and secondary education.

It became obvious at the 1983 Australian College of Education conference in Melbourne that there was a need to look more closely at the various sections of education separately, hence the 1984 conference at Armidale concentrating on women in higher education management in Australia and this 1985 conference concentrating on women in management at primary and secondary levels.

Through the research of Dr Shirley Sampson and Dr Judith Chapman and the papers presented over the last three days from each state, the picture has become clearer and many concerns and perceptions of the 'state of play' have been confirmed by this sharing of information. The picture is not rosy - it was not expected to be. With only 23 per cent of women in principal positions there is a long way to go. Clearly much remains to be done. Changes are happening but women must keep using their skills and commitment to find new and creative ways of changing the overall picture. This is beginning to happen and the successful strategies discussed at this conference show the debate is entering a new phase.

A National Network

The second conference aim was to make and renew contacts.

Women at this conference have indicated they now feel secure as part of a national network of very able, capable, successful women. There is now a feeling of equality as though women are there to help each other. This conference has been characterised by a lack of competitiveness and the sort of 'one-upmanship' that women have experienced at some male-dominated conferences.

In addition, it is a mark of this conference that men have participated as speakers and full-time members. The conference has shown that men as well as women can function in a co-operative, collaborative manner. Systems have historically seen the inequality of women in management positions as a women's problem. As one man at

this conference has stated this issue must be confronted by both men and women.

Renewed Enthusiasm

The third aim of the conference was for women and men to be re-inspired to direct energy into pursuing the inclusion of women in management of schools and systems.

Through the quality of the speakers, the quality of the organisation, the quality of the interaction, and the quality of the individuals and their contributions, participants at this conference have been challenged to make their own personal decision about how best to use and direct the energy and renewed enthusiasm acquired within their own milieu.

Emerging Issues

Many issues have emerged and a few are highlighted in this paper.

Selection procedures for senior positions. The processes involved in the selection of senior positions require constant vigilance. The selection criteria, job descriptions and specifications must be non-sexist and must be challenged when they are sexist. Where there is a policy of including someone with an equal opportunity role on panels, that person must ensure equal treatment, not only in terms of sex, but also age and race, eliminate hearsay remarks which are damaging to applicants, and challenge the unexamined assumptions about women, including their capabilities and personal qualities and leadership style.

Composition of Selection Panels. In relation to the composition of selection panels the ultimate aim must be for gender balance as an affirmation of women's contribution. The criteria and emphasis given to particular skills will change where both men and women are involved and share the responsibility for decisions.

Social attitudes towards women in management. Social attitudes towards women in management are developed partly by how others view women and partly on how women view themselves. Women have often been described as militant feminist confrontationists or alternatively whining, complaining, hard-done-by-women. Such views of women indicate extreme stereotyping. In the past the system has adopted a deficit model of women in management in its attempts to redress the inequalities in terms of the number of women in senior positions. This has been a naive and unsophisticated point of view in which the outcome has been the attempt to equip women with those skills which have been traditionally associated with men. The conference has encouraged the sharing of the positive attitudes, strategies, knowledge and skills that women have, so that they can build on each other's success within their own frameworks and present the new and emerging role model for women so different from the 'Uncle Tom' model. The exercise of women's power is in the way women manage themselves as individuals, recognising and capitalising on the uniqueness of their skills and their differences. Women need to have faith in themselves as managers with strengths.

The changing role of the manager. Some of the strengths that the emerging women in management bring to the corporate table include:

- the ability to see issues clearly, penetrate the murky confusion, get to the heart of the matter and establish what the real issue is;

- the refusal to play 'one-upmanship' games by being supportive of people's work and treating them as equals regardless of their sex;

- the capacity to see the consequences of decisions and place those squarely on the table;

- preparedness to trust in intuition which is learned skilled based on female experience;

- respect for sensitivity and perception which leads women to recognise that people, and more particularly children, are on the end of decisions made.

Personal career planning. There are two common debilitating syndromes which women can lock themselves into - even though they want promotion. Sampson's research indicated one to be the 'I couldn't possibly do that' syndrome and the other 'I'm not able to take promotion because I have too many family ties and responsibilities' syndrome. These attitudes are at one end of the continuum. At the other end is the necessary positive self-fulfilling statement which is: 'I can make things happen for myself'. The necessary process is to move from the self-defeating end of the continuum to the self-actualising end and is characterised by the recognition that all people make choices. In order to be in the position to make positive choices women have to work within the system to provide the strategies to increase opportunities and provide more viable opportunities for women. Given that these opportunities become available, the choice of using them is then up to individual women. Some of the strategies mentioned over the last three days include:

. networking

. undergoing training programs

. awareness raising

. personal counselling of other women (if each participant helped one other woman to raise her awareness and self esteem next week there would be another 150 women with vision)

. acting at high duties level

. undertaking further studies if this is necessary

. being talked to by others who have successfully managed

. constantly reinforcing the message.

Research. Research is essential to provide a considered and clear knowledge base. Women must take cognisance of Dale Spender's

arguments for women defining their own areas of research. The monitoring of ongoing statistics to follow the path of change is essential to that sound knowledge base. The collection of case studies of successful women in management to establish common factors will illuminate the path for progress.

Conclusion

The way forward is exciting, challenging and stimulating. Women face the choice of being managers who exhibit male, female, androgynous or gender-inclusive characteristics. As John Steinle stated in his paper:

> There are distinct and positive differences in the way women approach and carry out their jobs. They are now in sufficient numbers to have an impact on the male definition of the 'successful' manager in education. As more women are able to enter senior management positions, one can anticipate more 'gender-inclusive' models of management.

Gender-inclusive models are more attractive to women and indeed to men, particularly in the field of education because these models value and affirm human skills, experiences and visions of equality. Women are without doubt making progress.

TOWARDS THE YEAR 2000 - REFLECTIONS ON THE NAIROBI END OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN FORUM AND CONFERENCE

Gail Radford

Introduction

This paper was written at short notice immediately after return from the United Nations Forum to mark the end of the UN 'Decade for Women'. It was prepared for the Conference after-dinner speech and presents reflections on the Forum (held in Nairobi in July 1985) rather than any insightful analysis of its significance.

It is a feature of United Nations conferences that they also hold, concurrently, a gathering of non-governmental organisations to discuss the same topic. In Mexico in 1975 a Tribune was held at the same time as the United Nations conference to mark the beginning of the UN Decade for Women. The conference to mark the mid-decade which was held in Copenhagen, also had a forum. Although non-governmental organisations or NGOs are organisations which are officially accredited with the United Nations, it is not only members of NGOs who attend these gatherings. In the words of the opening program for the Nairobi forum 'Everybody is welcome' - and practically everybody came to Nairobi. In total 17,000 people attended either the conference or the forum, the conference being the smaller with only 2,000 participants.

NGO Forum

The lasting memory of the forum is one of tremendous activity and exchange of information and the vast hospitality and friendliness of the Kenyan women. The media coverage in Australia was pretty dismal but there were some 1,400 journalists in Nairobi. The reported administrative mishaps were vastly over-emphasised by the media. What would have happened at the Australian National University if 5,000 people had been expected to attend such gatherings and instead 17,000 arrived. The university halls of residence were turned over to forum participants. There was some unpleasantness when women attending the forum were asked to move out of first class hotels to make room for official delegates to the conference. This was probably the fault of the high commissions and embassies in Nairobi for not informing the women while still in their own countries that they would be required to live at the university. This had certainly been done well ahead by the Australian High Commission in Nairobi.

The accommodation at the university was quite adequate, with brand new bedding and towels. As is usual in residential living, those who got up earliest got the hot showers. The restaurants in Nairobi served absolutely delicious food, African, Indian, Chinese and European. Although it was not considered safe to walk in Nairobi at night there was never a problem getting a taxi to go down town or back to the university.

Waiting in line was a feature of the forum. However, for most this was not a negative experience but an opportunity to meet women from many different parts of the world, exchange addresses and establish friendships. It was an unforgettable experience to sit on

the grass in the middle of the main square at the university waiting to register - among thousands of women in bright coloured costumes; Africans in brilliant cotton dresses; Indians in saris and women in western dress looking drab by comparison; women from the Sudan, wearing pastel coloured veils and Indians from the mountains in Chile, wearing elaborate costumes similar to those worn in Nepal in India.

The opening of the forum was held in the Kenyatta Centre, later to be the venue of the official conference. This is an enormous conference centre and when filled with all the forum participants, led in song by the African women, provided very emotional and inspirational moments.

One of the speakers at the opening was Dame Nita Barrow, a woman from Barbados, who was convener of the conference. She said

> Some among you may only be here to go on Safari, but for the others there is much to see, much to do. Many have come to present workshops and many, I hope, to listen.

In fact, during the next two weeks, it became obvious that for most the primary intention was hard work, although the Kenyan tourist industry did a thriving business arranging safaris to the game parks for many forum and conference participants.

A daily newspaper called *Forum 85* was produced. This was an excellent paper and set out the many daily events, reported on the workshops and interviewed leading participants. Those who wish to know more about the forum activities should try to borrow copies of these newspapers. Each day at any time there would be at least 50 simultaneous workshops in full swing with over 100 held each day. Cultural events were staged all day in the French Cultural Centre; there was an exhibition of technology and tools on the sports fields; a peace tent and numerous little stalls; dancing groups and groups of women who had just come together to sit on the grass and talk.

Needless to say, it was impossible to attend all activities, but with 250 Australian women at the forum many were covered. A group of Australian women from Victoria has agreed to prepare a report on the forum, which should be available in the next few months.

FORUM 85 urged women to use every opportunity to build up their own networks. When at workshops, having lunch or dinner, or sitting together in the evening, so many women from all parts of the world would never again have a better chance to create their own special interest international networks. This was the most important outcome of the Copenhagen forum and will also be one of the most important outcomes of the Nairobi forum..

Initially I chose to attend Equality and Employment workshops but soon found myself fascinated by workshops presented by third world women. While many were not directly relevant to my work in Australia, they gave me a broader appreciation of the problems of women in many countries in the world - many problems confronting women in Australia paling by comparison.

Agriculture in Africa relies on the female labour force, working in the traditional manner, with low productivity and lack of access to

resources. New technology has had a negative effect on women in agriculture in Africa. Mechanisation has tended to replace female labour, the new employment created by mechanisation usually going to men. Expansion of cash crops utilising mechanised methods frequently requires more land, pushing food producers to less fertile and marginal land, thus further decreasing their productivity.

Access to fresh, safe water is a major problem, especially in the rural areas where many African women have to walk many miles each day to collect water, often sleeping overnight at the well before returning home with fresh water in the morning. The bulk of Africa's energy comes from firewood, which is gathered by the women. The difficulties African women face in gathering wood are compounded by inefficient use of energy. Most wood used for cooking or heating is burned in open fires in which as much as 95 per cent of the energy generated is lost. This means that a high amount of wood is consumed and women must go to fetch wood frequently and return bent over by the heavy loads on their backs. As more and more wood is used the women have to walk further and further to find trees. There is also a danger that if this extravagent use of wood continues for too long that parts of wooded Africa will soon be a desert.

The technology and tools exhibition was of particular importance to African women and other third world women facing similar problems. Emphasis was placed on products which used technology to lighten women's workload and provide opportunities for the generation of income. It was divided into six main workshops:

- food processing and storage technology;
- health, including water and sanitation;
- communication technology;
- energy technology;
- agricultural technology;
- income generating technologies.

Questions addressed here included how to integrate appropriate technologies into women's income-producing projects; how to communicate information about the appropriate technology to local groups in each country; how women can persuade training and educational institutions to offer courses relevant to their project work with appropriate technology and, most importantly, how women can take control of technology and not vice versa.

On the Saturday of the forum, participants were provided with opportunities to meet rural Kenyan women first hand. Thousands of women were taken by bus to many country areas where they were greeted by dancing and singing rural women, who explained their local projects. These projects were all in addition to the work the women did looking after their families and their farms. Many women were making handicrafts and sought the help of overseas visitors to find markets for these handicrafts. Other projects were an example of non-traditional work for women. In one, women were making concrete building blocks and in another, they were running a hardware store.

Equality, peace and development were themes for Women's Decade and for many women, there cannot be equality or development in their countries without peace and freedom from domination by outside powers. Many issues, which are on the UN's agenda, were discussed in the

workshops at the forum - the Israel/Palestinian problem, and appeal by women in Iraq for cessation of the war with Iran, the invasion of West Papua by Indonesia, El Salvadore and the Nuclear Free Pacific to name a few. But unlike the UN meetings this did not stop the business of the forum. Women came to learn and listen and establish a dialogue.

The blue and white peace tent provided a space for discussions to continue once workshops concluded. The peace tent was the result of six months' work by forty women from fifteen different countries. Its purpose was to provide an opportunity to produce feminist alternatives to men's conflicts. At one stage there was a suggestion that the Kenyan authorities would close the tent as discussions were considered too anti-American. Dame Nita Barrow said that if the peace tent was closed, she would close the forum. Dame Nita is a very strong woman and the tent remained.

There is not time to mention all the highlights of the forum but two issues provide an example of how women have combined across national boundaries to take concerted action. One is the genital mutilation or circumcision of women and the other the sexual exploitation of young girls and women of the third world.

In Copenhagen there was confusion surrounding the topic of genital mutilation, over some African resentment of what they saw as an effort to handle the issue by western women with a mission to save Africans. It was clear from the workshops in Nairobi that a high shift had occured in the fight to stop circumcision. Africans now 'own' the problem and many are taking effective measures to eradicate it. The Nairobi workshops were organised by an inter-African committee, which came into being at a conference held in Dakar in February 1984. Following this conference national commissions were set up in a number of countries to implement its recommendations. More than 26 African nations came together in Khartoum in October 1984 for an intensive five day workshop, entitled 'The African woman speaks out against female circumcision'.

Seminars have been organised for people generally and nurses and midwives in particular, teaching aids developed and publicity campaigns drawn up. Efforts are being made to stop midwives from conducting the operation and perpetuating the practice, both through education and by trying to find other sources of income for them. Funds for launching some of them in petty trading are being sought. Networking between the women in these countries concerned is proving to be extremely useful. Solutions and proposals for activities were exchanged at the forum.

Women from the Phillipines discussed the progress they have made in trying to prevent the sexual exploitation of women in their country by tourists. Here Filipino women and Japanese women had combined together to present information about sex tours to the Philippines. Asian women spoke of the exploitation of their women by foreign military personnel based in their countries. The exploitation of African women in Europe was also discussed and there was a call for Unesco to place the prevention of sexual exploitation of children high on their agenda. Much activity can be expected in this area as the result of networks formed at the Nairobi forum.

Australian women also presented workshops on subjects such as anti-discrimination and the comparable worth of work. Aboriginal women presented an excellent workshop to a packed room.

UN Conference

In the midst of all this activity the official UN Conference began, but such was the degree of energy at the forum that the conference seemed almost an irrelevance. The members of the Australian delegation came to the forum each night to meet with forum participants. This was considered essential for, as Senator Patricia Giles, leader of the Australian delegation said, it was only by the efforts of the NGOs that the UN Decade for Women was established and any document produced by the conference would only be implemented in all countries by the concerted efforts of NGOs.

The Nairobi conference started under a considerable cloud. Earlier preliminary conferences had made little headway. These had produced a large document on which there was no agreement except for its name. This certainly sounded as if it had been written by a committee. The document was known by the incredible title of 'Forward-looking strategies of implementation for the advancement of women and concrete measures to overcome obstacles to the advancement of the goals and objectives of the United Nations decade for Women for the period 1986 to the year 2000: equality, development and peace.' Not surprisingly it was soon known as the 'Forward-looking Strategies' or FLS for short.

The FLS was some 300 - 400 paragraphs long and two committees were set up to consider different paragraphs. Much drafting and redrafting went on in these committees, but progress seemed extremely slow to forum participants who were used to the frenetic pace of the forum.

Eventually the FLS was presented to the plenary session of the conference on the last day. All went well until 4pm in the afternoon when the conference came to paragraph 95 which included the word Zionism in a list of major obstacles to women's advancement, such as apartheid and racism.

This of course was the rock on which the communique from the Copenhagen conference foundered. Australia and other countries refused to sign a document containing these words.

The plenary session broke up while intensive lobbying went on. What followed were very tense hours indeed when it seemed that once again no agreement could be obtained and the FLS would be lost. The leader of the Kenyan delegation said later that it was like watching a baby die in your lap. But by 11.30pm the African women had managed to obtain agreement to an alternative form of words - 'and all other forms of racial discrimination' was to replace Zionism. The FLS was saved and the remaining paragraphs passed by the Plenary by 4am.

So the conference, which had started with agreement only on a name, concluded with a blueprint action for women in the areas of equality, development and peace to be taken by all countries between 1985 and the year 2000. It was the largest UN conference ever, with the largest number of countries which had ever participated in a UN

conference and was the first time that such a document had been arrived at by consensus.

There is much work ahead for governments and NGOs alike if its ideals are to be achieved by the year 2000.

APPENDIX 1

RECOMMENDATIONS AND STRATEGIES

The Conference Planning Committee for the National Conference 'Women in Management in Primary and Secondary Education : Making Progress' presents the following resolutions to the Council of the Australian College of Education. The recommendations arose from Conference workshops, were presented to the final plenary session for preliminary endorsement and then forwarded to all participants for endorsement. The Conference expressed appreciation for the support of the College in sponsoring three conferences on women in educational management.

It is *recommended* that the Australian College of Education endorse the following general principles:

- the fundamental right of women and men to be equally responsible for the management of schools and education systems;
- equitable representation of women and men in policy formulation and decision making in schools and education systems;
- improved access to professional development in education management, which may entail special provision for women;
- improved information collection and dissemination relating to educational management.

These principles are reflected in the following recommendations to the College and to education authorities and organisations in Australia.

AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

It is *recommended* that the College:

- ask the editors of *Unicorn* to:
  - include an overview of the conference in an early issue of the journal in 1985;
  - consider the publication of other suitable papers presented at the conference, subject to normal editorial process;
  - advertise the availability of the full conference proceedings which are intended for publication as a separate title;
- ask each Chapter of the College to hold appropriate follow-up activities on women in educational management aimed specifically at classroom teachers;
- ask its national Research Committee to consider and encourage research projects which:

- provide a profile of girls' educational backgrounds and their career destinations so that an assessment can be made of their courses to see whether they have enabled girls to gain the necessary confidence to enter education management;
- disseminate information about the Victorian SCOPE program throughout Australia to all education authorities and the media so that the existing situation is highlighted;
- disseminate information about exemplary programs which contribute to increasing the participation of women in management positions in schools and school systems.

. transmit the conference recommendations to the following groups:
- government and non-government systems authorities;
- Australian Education Council;
- Commonwealth Schools Commission;
- Ministers and Shadow Ministers of Education, State and Commonwealth;
- government and non-government teachers' and parents' organisations;
- Office of the Status of Women and the National Women's Consultative Council;
- women politicians, State and Commonwealth;
- women's advisers in each State and Territory;
- Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration, State and national bodies;
- women's education networks.

AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION COUNCIL (AEC)

It is *recommended* that the AEC initiate an annual national collection and reporting of data bearing on disadvantage to women due to current educational practices; this should include information concerning the numerical representation of women in all categories of educational management.

COMMONWEALTH SCHOOLS COMMISSION (CSC)

It is *recommended* that the CSC:

. initiate an investigation of alternative career structures to enable teachers to remain in the classroom and that these be trialled in each State;

. fund the development of managerial training programs for women.

OFFICE OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN (OSW)

It is *recommended* that:

. the initiative of the OSW in establishing a national data base on women be endorsed;

. that the OSW include 'Women in Educational Management' as an easily identifiable component of that data base.

COMMONWEALTH AND STATE DEPARTMENTS

It is *recommended* that high priority be given by all research funding bodies and research sections of State and Federal departments to research into ways of improving the involvement of women in educational management.

GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SYSTEMS AND AUTHORITIES

Research and Evaluation

It is *recommended* that education systems and authorities:

- establish and maintain a data base from which the following gender statistics can be readily extracted:
  - recruitment and appointment to the teaching service;
  - application for eligibility for promotion;
  - application for advertised promotions positions;
  - management positions;
  - staff turnover;
  - workers' compensation claims;

- support research into issues impinging on women in education, including the educational disadvantage of girls;

- require schools to evaluate their structures, practices and programs to assist:
  - all students to recognise the potential of women;
  - all students, especially girls, to develop decision-making skills and leadership styles;
  - girls to develop greater self esteem;
  - female teachers to have experience in positions and on committees to develop awareness of career structures and leadership roles in education.

Policy and Programs

It is *recommended* that education systems and authorities:

- constitute all decision-making panels/committees at all levels of operation with a gender balance;

- provide adequate inservicing for members of selection and promotion committees to ensure an understanding of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) principles;

- give the highest priority and adequate resource allocation to affirmative action programs at school and system levels to redress the lack of representation of women in education management, including numerical targets where appropriate;

- include representation of women at all levels of management in industrial democracy programs;

- appoint EEO coordinators and implement EEO plans;

- work towards accepting gender inclusive management which utilises the full range of skills in administration and which values the differences of any group working towards its determined educational goals.

Personnel

It is *recommended* that education systems and authorities:

- adopt the principle of merit in selection of staff and redefine the merit principle to include performance criteria which recognise the experience and values of women;

- specify the active fostering of EEO principles in all duty statements of senior administrators;

- adopt structural changes in the conditions of service to militate against discrimination because of broken service due to gender, for example maternity and parenting leave;

- consider limiting tenure in promotional positions with reappointment subject to broadly based review.

Professional Development

It is *recommended* that education systems and authorities:

- accept the responsibility for designing and implementing programs for women and men in education to become more conscious of a range of managerial styles;

- allocate finance to staff development and training programs for the implementation of equal employment opportunity principles and guidelines;

- provide inservice/conference opportunities for women in education to discuss, identify and clarify issues related to career awareness and life planning;

- develop a range of audiovisual resources which show successful women as managers and which assist in raising the confidence and self esteem of women and girls in the longer term;

- provide professional development of EEO principles for parent bodies involved in school communities;

- grant study leave for teachers to upgrade qualifications and encourage women to apply.

TEACHERS' UNIONS

It is *recommended* that all teacher unions:

- adopt affirmative action programs for women members, to include representation of women at all levels of union management;

- pursue policies which are of particular concern to women.

PARTICIPANTS

It is *recommended* that all participants:

- establish and maintain support networks for the implementation of the conference recommendations in their own State or Territory;

- approach women in the media to popularise exemplary models of women in education management and promote women who have been appointed to management positions.

During the conference, several State and system workshops discussed specific recommendations relevant to their situations. Two examples of these recommendations are those formulated by Catholic women for Catholic education authorities and by ACT women for the ACT Schools Authority Council.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

It is *recommended* that:

- Catholic education authorities at national, state, diocesan and local levels maintain and develop those initiatives which will ensure the inclusion of women at all levels of management;

- the recommendations from the Conference be given urgent consideration by systemic and non-systemic authorities within the Catholic community of schools;

- Catholic education offices establish units to deal with issues related to women in education. The major task of these units will be to investigate, compile and publish data on the philosophical, administrative and curriculum ramifications of the under-utilisation of women in Catholic education and to establish appropriate procedures and policies to address the emerging issues.

ACT SCHOOLS AUTHORITY (ACTSA)

The following recommendations were presented to the first post-conference meeting of ACT participants who met to encourage a network of women in management with an active role in promoting the professional interests of women in the ACT and to consider possible action to enhance the interests and concerns of women. The network is meeting regularly.

It is *recommended* that the ACTSA Council:

- replace the EEO officer with an EEO unit in 1986, and that:
  - the resources to staff the unit be taken from positions currently allocated to eligibility procedures;
  - the unit be responsible for the implementation of the Authority's EEO Management Plan from 1986 to 1989;
  - the need for the unit's continuation be subject to review during 1989;
- undertake a statistical analysis of its workforce in 1986 to develop a profile on the employment situation of women and other designated groups and their progress at all levels of the Authority. These statistics should be maintained so that a

complete profile of women in the system is accessible, for example HDA appointments, reasons for resignation, leave, applications for promotions and success or failure;

- make a number of positions available in 1986 within a professional development course designed to give women selected by the Authority Joint EEO Committee access to management skills that will enable them to obtain senior management positions in the Commonwealth Teaching Service (CTS) :
  - selection be based on applications following advertisement;
  - selection criteria emphasise demonstrated commitment and ability to implement EEO policy within the workplace;
  - the positions be open to women at all Band levels;
  - the program be of two weeks duration and provide skills training, including assertion and negotiating skills, interviewing techniques, staff counselling skills, media training skills with technology support, industrial relations, resource management in a situation of budgetary constraint, policy development and co-ordination, personnel practices and procedures, information technology and computing skills, futurology, computerisation techniques for student assessment and timetabling;
  - funding for this course be reallocated from the paid study leave allocations;
  - the workplaces from which the successful applicants are chosen satisfy the following conditions:
    have school-workplace EEO committee;
    have detailed management plan for implementing EEO strategies within the school which will utilise the knowledge, skills and experience of the successful applicant;

- require all members of Authority promotion/transfer panels to undertake a two-day staff training program in all aspects of staff selection with emphasis on the requirements of EEO legislation, policy and practices; validity of different leadership styles should be recognised by panels;

- require all committees to include women members and, where possible, to be status balanced;

- commence negotiations with the appropriate bodies, for example the ACT Teachers' Federation (ACTTF) and the Commonwealth Public Service Board to remove the barriers to mobility between the Australian Public Service (APS) and the CTS;

- negotiate with the ACTTF to reach agreement that the Authority seek exemption for the next five years under the Sex Discrimination Act to tag two of the four Bands 4 and 3 level senior promotions positions in secondary schools and 50 per cent of the senior promotions positions in the Office and in primary schools;

- maintain and extend the master teacher scheme;

- use short-term HDAs for professional development experience for women;

- increase study leave opportunities for women;
- negotiate with the ACTTF to ensure that from 1986 all vacant promotion positions at principal level become subject to five years tenure;

- convene (in conjunction with the relevant union) a meeting of women in CTS and APS positions to discuss mobility and affirmative action strategies to achieve EEO;

- convene a meeting with the ACTTF to follow up the implementation of the recommendations of the workshop with the Senior Directors, Directors and Principal Executive Officers in the Authority concerned with staffing and professional development;

- review its personnel policies and practices to identify those which discriminate against women and other designated groups;

- evaluate the implementation of its affirmative action program against the goals determined;

- evaluate annually the components of the program and set new goals and targets in the light of the results.

CATEGORIES OF DATA COLLECTION RECOMMENDED BY THE WORKSHOP ON RESEARCH

In addition to these formal recommendations, workshops produced implementation strategies in several areas of concern. Data collection is an essential step in determining action. The conference recommended several areas where data collection was crucial.

1. Recruitment Appointment

Number of applications for employment:

- by gender;
- by level - pre-school
  - primary (in all these - subject
  - secondary area where applicable)
  - R-12
  - independent.

Teachers appointed from above:

- by gender;
- as above;
- by permanent/contract/temporary (that is, type of appointment).

2. Applications for Promotion

Assessment/Eligibility :

- male/female breakdown of applicants and as a percentage;
- male/female breakdown of withdrawals and as a percentage;
- male/female breakdown of applicants at all levels, i.e. showing Bands 1, 2 and 3 at each of pre-school, primary, secondary and R-12 levels;
- successful applicants by gender at various levels (with grading where applicable);
- unsuccessful applicants by gender;
- number of times applied for assessment.

Promotions positions:

- applicants for advertised positions by gender;
- short listed applicants by gender;
- appointment by gender.

Data to be collected in the same classifications as set out above for assessment/eligibility.

3. Profile of Women

Number of women currently occupying promotions positions (as a percentage of the total promotions positions).

Breakdowns through all sectors as in paragraph 2.

Figures on the following positions specifically and within the sectors :

- principal
- deputy - area of responsibility;
- senior teacher (small schools where a responsibility allowance is provided);
- other responsibility allowances.

And numbers of the above who are :

- substantive;
- higher duties allowance;
- acting (after advertising position);
- limited tenure.

All of the above to be broken down as :

- percentage of total;
- actual male/female numbers

Ratio of women in management positions to the total number of women in the service.

4. Percentage Staff Turnover Rate

   . Percentage male) together with length of service
   . Percentage female) in the system.

5. Periods of Leave Without Pay

   For accouchement/parenting leave, study, travel, with male/female breakdown in years/months for each category separately.

   Applications for leave-without-pay (as above if possible).

6. Time Out Under Workers' Compensation

   Male/Female.

   For each gender :

   . period;
   . reason;
   . age;
   . sector of teaching, for example primary.

7. Data which is Not Readily Available

   Reasons for resignations by gender.

   Compositions and membership of departmental/authority committees by gender and rank.

   Placement in relation to choice of females in tertiary institutions.

   Current position of teachers in relation to position five and ten years previously, by gender.

   Subject choice at years 11-12 by gender in courses for credentialling, certification, accrediting.

STRATEGIES RECOMMENDED BY THE WORKSHOP ON CHANGING THE MANAGERIAL ROLE

The workshop on changing the managerial role made recommendations on strategies relating to the definitions of merit, structural change, professional development for administrators and school level initiatives.

Definition of Merit

Merit should be redefined in operational terms, as follows :

. Seniority should not be part of merit.

. Merit should be based on :
   - diversity of experience;
   - performance validated by referees;
   - demonstrated ability to interact with females and males in the community;

- demonstrated awareness of broad current educational issues, including equal employment opportunity. Preferably this will include upgrading formal qaualifications and readiness to be involved in inservice programs, special interest groups and committees for special programs.

. Pastoral/nurturing experience should be given full merit. This may include nurturing in the home.

Structural Change

. Selection and assessment panels should have :

- equitable representation of males and females;
- vertical representation of groups in the system;
- inservicing, especially on EEO which includes awareness raising of personal biases;
- an EEO observer to brief the panel at all stages of selection, and have input into inservicing;
- EEO observers who are committed to the issues should be nominated by the union.

. All committees, working parties and task forces within the system, including those within each school, should adequately represent women and men through equitable representation.

. The process of decision making at system and school levels should be based on a participative, democratic model, for example rotation of chairperson at meetings, formulation of agenda and notetaking.

. Higher duties should be rotated among females and males equitably.

. Data recording the evidence of equitable representation in decisionmaking at all levels should be a significant feature of the report of the Director-General in every State.

. The EEO co-ordinator appointed to the system should have status at least equivalent to that of principal of a large primary school and have the resources and power to implement EEO policy.

. Senior and middle management at system level should be given an active role in the inservice presentation of EEO policy to all levels of the education community.

Professional Development for Administrators

The following strategies should be used to sensitise administrators so that they will recognise and promote the contributions of women to the management role. To ensure implementation of all these strategies a gender-balanced committee should be established to monitor their continuing development.

Systems and schools

- Increase administrators' awareness of the changing social context of present life patterns.
- Raise consciousness through holding post-conference reviews in each State, involving decision makers.
- Provide constant reinforcement through 'trade' magazines.
- Plan personal targetting by influential women of men in power.
- Ask administrators to inform staff on the criteria and procedures used in allocating specific responsibilities, both paid and unpaid.
- Develop a series of questions for use by women in schools, on committees and in the community which focus on the need for gender-inclusive policies.
- Arrange a visit by a committed person to new promotees to raise their awareness of their responsibilities for the development of women as managers.

Systems

- Require each system to have a written EEO policy which requires each school to have the same, ensuring that the implications of the policy are addressed in each curriculum area.
- Identify committed women and ensure at least one is present on every professional organisation.
- Appoint an EEO representative on every committee in the office.
- Develop a network of critical friends for use by the EEO officer and schools in developing and implementing policy.

Schools

- Conduct action research on allocation of roles in the school and report to staff.
- Arrange a person to speak to each school staff on EEO.

Training

- Survey external and internal administration training courses then follow up with personal interpretation of results with those running the courses to raise consciousness on gender issues.
- Convene a joint ACE/ACEA conference on management, including consciousness raising on gender issues.
- Arrange pre-appointment training for new administrators at system level or school level, including EEO issues.
- Provide compulsory inservice training which includes EEO issues for school executives.

School Level Initiatives

School administrators should be asked to implement the following strategies and system administrators should actively promote implementation.

Professional Development of Women

- Develop a staffing role so that a conscious effort is made to discuss career pathways.
- Ensure that men and women undertake equally nurturing and administrative roles and appropriate pre-training.
- Give acting (HDA) positions to women as well as men, on a proportional basis.
- Act as a mentor, for example actively seek out and encourage able women, involving them in discussion of educational issues on both formal and informal bases.
- Put women in prominent positions in front of the student body and the wider school community.
- Encourage and enable women to participate in inservice and further training.
- Involve women in the formal decision making, for example that which has occurred over a beer at the hotel.
- Select women to represent the school and principal at outside-school meetings.

School and Community Development

- Make staff, students and community aware of issues through assemblies, staff and parent meetings and school publications.
- Actively encourage women in the community to take non-traditional roles in the school, for example on the school council.
- Reflect the proposed devolution of duties on how tasks are allocated to students.
- Appoint a gender-balanced committee to monitor the continuing development of these strategies.

Initiatives By Women

Women should take responsibility to develop further their management beliefs and styles, in :

- communications skills;
- interpersonal relationships;
- goal setting;
- forward planning;

- risk taking;
- monitoring;
- accepting the entrepreneurial role;
- delegating authority and co-ordinating;
- initiating actions;
- networking;
- responding;
- undertaking specific tasks of budgeting, supervision;

within the framework of EEO philosophy.

They should develop an understanding of the hidden agenda in the organisation and use it to advantage, such as identification of power bases.

STRATEGIES RECOMMENDED BY THE WORKSHOP ON MANAGEMENT EDUCATION

Management education should be in four main areas :

- managerial skills and knowledge acquisition;
- professional skills and knowledge acquisition;
- directional career path planning; and
- personal skills development.

It should take place in three areas, the school, the system and the environment, and proceed in formal, informal and non-formal ways from pre-service, through inservice to 'para-service', a lateral educational process.

System administrators should ensure that staff have access to inservice education, study leave and conference attendance.

The network of professional colleagues should be utilised for self assessment and development.

School staffrooms should be equipped with regularly updated course information.

Unions should be encouraged to regard professional development as a legitimate concern of union members.

Development areas for management education are detailed in Table 1 and categories of professional development in Table 2.

WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: MAKING PROGRESS

PARTICIPANTS

NEW SOUTH WALES

Ms Ann Clark	Deputy Director of Schools, Catholic Education Office, Sydney
Sr Helen Connolly	Principal, Brigidine College
Ms Sue Cremer	Principal, Wairoa School
Ms Hester Eisenstein	Assistant Director, Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment, New South Wales
Miss Patricia Grant	Education Advisor, National Catholic Education Commission
Ms Kerry Hyland	Acting Equal Employment Opportunity Co-ordinator, New South Wales Department of Education
Sr Marilyn Kelleher	Principal, Conference of Major Superiors of Women's Religious Institutes, Australia, Region of New South Wales
Ms Robin Kelly	Principal, Croydon Public School
Dr Lesley Lynch	Officer-in-Charge Social Policy Unit, New South Wales Ministry of Education
Ms Helen MacGregor	Relieving Organiser, New South Wales Teachers' Federation
Miss Natalie McNamara	Head of Personnel Department, Catholic Education Office, Sydney
Ms Natasha McNamara	Co-Director, Aboriginal Training and Cultural Institute
Dr Jan Milburn	Principal, New England Girls' School
Ms Marianne Millan	Representative, New South Wales Teachers' Federation
Ms Janice Nash	English/History Co-ordinator, St Andrew's Cathedral School
Sr Paula Smith	Lecturer in Education, Mitchell College of Advanced Education
Ms Shirley Steel	Representative, New South Wales Teachers' Federation

Ms Vicki Tanzer	Regional Consultant, Catholic Education Office, Southern Region
Sr Mary Wright	Principal Loreto Convent, Kirribilli

VICTORIA

Ms Suzanne Barrah	Deputy Principal, Ruyton Girls' School
Sr Cecilia Bridgman	Member, Victorian Catholic Education Commission
Dr Judith Chapman	Senior Lecturer in Education, Monash University
Ms Jan Dillow	President, Technical Teachers' Union of Victoria
Ms Joan Eltham	Honorary Secretary, Federation of Victorian School Administrators
Ms Di Fleming	Vice-President, Australian Council for Educational Administration
Ms Marilyn Forde	Executive Officer, Victorian Independent Teachers' Federation
Ms Olga Holt	Representative, Victorian Primary Principals' Association
Mrs Eve Langdale	Professional Assistant, Australian College of Education
Mrs Barbara Lynch	Principal, Wesley College
Ms Elizabeth McMillan	Senior Consultant, Equal Employment Opportunity Education Department of Victoria
Dr Ray Maddocks	Executive Consultant, Education Department of Victoria
Ms Margaret Malloch	Senior Education Officer, Gippsland Regional Education Office, Education Department of Victoria
Mrs Fiona Ogilvy-O'Donnell	Assistant to the Executive Director, Association of Independent Schools of Victoria
Ms Jenny Oostindel	Representative, Victorian Affiliated Teachers' Federation
Ms Megan Pannu	Wesley College, Prahran
Dr Shirley Sampson	Senior Lecturer in Education, Monash University

Ms Veronica Schwarz	Policy and Planning Officer, Education Department of Victoria
Ms Kristin Scully	Representative, Association of Teachers in Victorian Catholic Secondary Schools
Dr Barry Sheehan	Director, Melbourne College of Advanced Education
Mrs Suzanne Strangward	Year Level Co-ordinator, Presbyterian Ladies' College
Ms Debra Towns	Co-ordinator, Equal Opportunity Unit, Education Department of Victoria

QUEENSLAND

Ms Jan Culla	Senior Mistress, MacGregor State High School
Ms Brenda Fennell	Teacher-in-Charge, Marsden Special Education Unit
Mrs Judith Hancock	Representative, Association of Independent Schools of Queensland
Ms Patricia Hodgson	Assistant Secretary, Queensland Independent Teachers' Federation
Sr Mary McDonald	Director, Catholic Education Office, Townsville
Sr Miriam McShane	Project Co-ordinator, Queensland Catholic Education Office
Mrs Glenys Mills	Principal, Banana State Primary School
Dr Ann Scott	Education Officer (Special Duties), Policy and Information Service Branch, Queensland Department of Education
Ms Patricia Waldby	Representative, Federation of Parents and Friends Associations of Queensland

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Ms Jillian Dellit	Affirmative Action Co-ordinator, Education Department of South Australia
Ms Rosemary Gracanin	Assistant Director of Education, Education Department of South Australia
Ms Madeleine Hedges	Principal, Elizabeth Vale Primary School
Ms Margaret Kiley	Project Officer (Early Childhood) Education Department of South Australia; Councillor, Australian College of Education

Ms Helga Kolbe	Director of Education (Resources), Education Department of South Australia
Ms Val Laidlaw	Principal, Spence Primary School
Ms Pamela McCall	Director of Studies, Pembroke School
Ms Peggy Mares	Assistant Director (Personnel), Education Department of South Australia
Ms Denzil O'Brien	Acting Equal Opportunities Officer, Education Department of South Australia
Dr Peter OBrien	Senior Lecturer, Educational Administration, Flinders University
Mr Brian Pocock	President, Australian Primary Principals' Association
Ms Marilyn Sleath	Superintendent of Schools, Education Department of South Australia
Mr John Steinle	Director-General, Education Department of South Australia
Ms Beverley Tonkin	Women's Adviser, South Australian Institute of Teachers
Ms Therese Westcot	Co-ordinator, Women's Studies Resource Centre

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Ms Naomi Brown	Women's Adviser, State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia
Ms Sandra Brown	Superintendent of Education (Equal Opportunity), Education Department of Western Australia
Mrs Audrey Jackson	Principal, St Mary's Anglican Girls' School
Dr Warren Louden	Deputy Director-General, Education Department of Western Australia
Ms Carol Henderson	Representative, Catholic Education Office of Western Australia
Ms Wendy Scanlon	Acting Principal, Spearwood Alternative School
Mrs Helen Van Noort	Member, Independent Schools Secondary Officers' Association
Ms Ngaire Young	Education Officer (Equal Employment Opportunity), Education Department of Western Australia

TASMANIA

Ms Jan Edwards	Senior Education Officer, Tasmanian Department of Education
Mrs Beverley Hanlon	Representative, Tasmanian Teachers' Federation
Mrs Margaret Lonergan	Representative, Tasmanian Teachers' Federation
Ms Beverley Richardson	Deputy Director (Student Services), Tasmanian Department of Education

NORTHERN TERRITORY

Ms Lyn Powierza	Superintendent, Northern Territory Department of Education
Mrs Mavis Shotton	Principal, Sadadeen High School

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

Dr Don Anderson	Chairperson, ACT Schools Authority
Ms Robyn Bagust	Organiser, Independent Schools Staff Association (ACT)
Ms Jill Bailey	Senior Teacher, Melrose High School
Ms Diana Banks	Principal, Hall Primary School
Ms Lexy Bannikoff	Senior Teacher, Hawker College
Ms Maureen Bickley	Consultant, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet
Ms Julie Biles	Representative, ACT Teachers' Federation
Mr Garth Boomer	Chairman, Commonwealth Schools Commission
Mrs Maureen Boyle	Principal, Red Hill Primary School
Ms Helen Burfitt	Science Consultant, ACT Schools Authority
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ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION AT PRE-CONFERENCE MEETINGS

1. The profile of education personnel by sex/structure of your system/school (women in management positions in resources, programs, faculties, libraries, centres, other).

2. The participation of women in major policy and decision-making committees in your system/school.

3. The criteria for promotion in your system/school (seniority, continuous service, country service, management training, efficiency, extra-curricular activities, membership of professional associations, personal qualities, merit, other).

4. Tertiary qualifications considered useful for promotion (PhD, MA or equivalent, BA or equivalent, Diploma, Certificate, other).

5. Assistance granted for tertiary studies by your system/school (time release, financial assistance, other).

6. Training in management provided by your system/school (person management dimension, task management dimension, computing, financial management, other).

7. Circulation of information about executive/management training programs in your system/school (management/principal, notice boards, newsletter, informal networks, other).

8. Specific arrangements for career guidance or retraining offered to women in your system/school.

9. Experience considered useful for promotion purposes (type of professional organisations, type of extra curricular activities, other).

10. Basis of selection for conference attendance in your system/school (management/principal, position in the hierarchy, need identified by management, request by staff members, subject group of staff, other).

11. Alternative criteria for promotion which could be used in your system/school.

12. Changes in staffing policies in your system/school resulting from anti-discrimination legislation (documents, procedures, committee representation, other).

13. Changes in numbers of women applying for promotion in your system/school since legislation and/or anti-discrimination policy statements have been in effect.

14. Issues relating to women which have been raised in your system/school within the past three years (job sharing, child care, maternity leave, other).

15. Women's networks which have arisen in your system/school in the past three years (equal employment opportunity co-ordinators, women in science, other).

16. Functions of recently established women's networks in your system/school (information sharing, personal support, regional task force, other).

17. Affirmative action programs and equal opportunity officers operating in your system/school.

18. Major problems associated with gaining promotional positions for women in your system/school.

19. Positive steps being taken by your system/school to increase the number of women in educational management positions.

20. Positive programs being run by your system/school to increase the management skills of women.

21. Strategies for increasing the number of women in positions of educational management in your system/school.

APPENDIX 4

ISSUES FROM INTRODUCTORY WORKSHOPS

Ann McMahon

Managerial Role

Sensitising the administrators to women's contribution

Fostering the mentor role of the manager

Redefining merit

Identifying goals to change staff meetings/unions/systems

Specific actions for individuals in school/systems

Identifying specific management skills for and in women

Strategies to ensure senior males are aware of responsibilities for developing women on staff

Consciousness raising for men and women

Image making/self marketing

Re-defining the Managerial Role

Changing managerial values

Changing managerial stereotypes

Changing the public perception

Re-defining leadership/developing alternative models of leadership

Establishing new role models incorporating female and male dimensions

Breaking the current control of the 'powerbrokers' to provide different sources of support/advice to women

Management Education

Fostering women's participation

Specific administrative experiences needed for promotion

Designing programs

Womens studies courses as pre-requisites for teacher education

Disseminating information about professional development

Work assignments as preparation for management

Structural experiences as preparation for management

'Mainstreaming' the issue of women in management

Upgrading and retraining in management skills

Developing political acumen

Education System

Strategies for increasing women's promotion

Identifying barriers in decision making

Industrial democracy issues - changes needed

Creating alternative promotion/career pathways

Role of unions

Changing promotion criteria

Identifying impediments to women's progress

Achieving equal representation of women on decision making committees

Career Planning

Devising career plans identifying sequences of jobs

Identifying job sequences

Identifying job mobility (ways of moving in and out of stressful positions)

Identifying targets

Combating discrimination in selection committees

Identifying methods for ensuring quality of experience

Self Perceptions of Women as Educational Managers

Pro-active strategies for altering self perceptions

Developing self confidence

Identifying a women's style of management

Developing self esteem

Developing confidence from others

Identifying stress factors

Dealing with self-imposed and community stereotypes

Dealing with the frustration of expectations versus achievements

Affirmative Action

Developing affirmative action plans

Micro applications of affirmative action

Identifying strategies to increase the number of women in promotion positions

Countering possible affirmative action backlashes

Developing strategies to gain commitment from management for affirmative action policies

Is affirmative action crucial?

Are there alternatives?

Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO)

Getting commitment to EEO at national and state levels

Reducing hierarchies

Developing EEO job briefs

Incorporation of EEO representatives on panels

Enforcing the EEO policies

Developing the concept of EEO in administration tasks for women

Researching the Role of Women

Developing mechanisms for data collection

Developing guidelines for data collection

Publicising women's achievements

Disseminating research findings which show barriers for women within the system

Examining perceptions of gender in school committees

Identifying community perceptions of female management skills

Developing Future Managers

Disseminating information about the skills necessary for management

The value of single-sex schools

Development of leadership skills in girls

Relating the curriculum to management

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PROPOSED PROCEDURES AND CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION FOR PROMOTION IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

PROPOSED PROCEDURES

EXTENSION OF THE FORMAL EVALUATION SYSTEM FOR PROMOTION BY MERIT IN 1986 FOR 1987

The Working Party is planning procedures to allow for the extension of the use of formal evaluation in determining promotion in 1986 for 1987 to the following categories:

(i) principal, primary schools, Class II

(ii) principal, district high schools, Class II

(iii) deputy principal, high and senior high schools.

Fifty percent of vacancies in the above categories will be filled by promotion based on formal evaluation.

Principal, Primary Schools, Class II

Eligible Groups

Eligibility to apply in 1986 for promotion by merit in 1987 to the positions of principal, primary schools, Class II will be open to those whose names will appear on the promotion list for this category in 1986, i.e.

(i) deputy principals, primary schools, Class IA

(ii) principals, primary schools, Class III

(iii) deputy principals (primary), district high schools.

Also eligible to apply will be deputy principals (female) of primary schools, Class I and IA who have had at least 8 years' total service and hold a Teachers' Higher Certificate and any female Class III principal or female deputy principal (primary) of a district high school not yet eligible to be on the Class II list provided she has at least 8 years in a promotional position and 12 years' total service.

The rationale for this decision is that it allows the appointment to be made of males and females with broadly equivalent backgrounds.

Inputs to Formal Evaluation

Inputs to formal evaluation will be provided by the following:

(i) applicant

(ii) superintendent

(iii) principal of the school , but where this is not practicable, a second superintendent may be nominated. Alternatively a principal holding a higher status than the applicant, with whom the applicant has had recent (2 or 3 years) close professional contact may be nominated

(iv) a colleague who has worked as a subordinate with the applicant in the last 3 years (applicant nominates 3).

Principal, District High School, Class II

Eligible Groups

Teachers on the Class II district high school promotion list as specified in Regulation 185(1)(f) are eligible to apply.

Inputs to Formal Evaluation

(a) Inputs to formal evaluation for applicants who hold the position of principal, primary school, Class III will be provided by:

(i) applicant

(ii) superintendent

(iii) a second superintendent may be nominated. Alternatively a principal holding a higher status than the applicant with whom the applicant has had recent (2 or 3 years) close professional contact may be nominated

(iv) a colleague who has worked as a subordinate with the applicant in the last 3 years (applicant nominates 3).

(b) Inputs to formal evaluation for applicants who hold a position other than principal, primary school, Class III will be provided by:

(i) applicant

(ii) superintendent

(iii) principal of the school, but where this is not practicable a second supintendent may be nominated

(iv) a colleague who has worked as a subordinate with the applicant in the last 3 years (applicant nominates 3).

Deputy Principal, High and Senior High Schools

Eligible Groups

Teachers in the following categories who have an approved degree and a Teacher's Higher Certificate are eligible to apply for promotion by merit based on formal evaluation for deputy principal, high and senior high schools in 1986 for 1987.

(i) master/mistress, with a minimum of 10 years' teaching experience

(ii) senior master/senior mistress

(iii) deputy principal (secondary) district high school

(iv) principal, district high school, Class II (secondary background).

Inputs to Formal Evaluation

Inputs to formal evaluation will be provided by:

(i) applicant

(ii) superintendent (secondary)

(iii) principal, or in the case of applicants who are principals of district high schools, Class II, a second superintendent

(iv) two colleagues: one a teacher in a non-promotional position; the other a peer (applicant nominates two of each).

Additional Points for Consideration

. The forms used for formal evaluation for the categories listed above will contain a teaching component in addition to categories on the existing forms used in 1985.

. All superordinate formal evaluations will be open and applicants will have the opportunity to provide further comment. Applicants will receive copies of superordinate evaluations. Peer and subordinate reports will be confidential to the Board.

. The working party also seeks the views of teachers on the desirability of removing the requirement for state-wide applications for sex linked positions (deputy principals) in Phase B of the promotion by merit system which will be introduced in 1986 for 1987.

PROPOSED CRITERIA

Promotion by merit to the positon of Deputy Principal High/Senior High, Principal district High Class II, Primary Class II

General

The Statement should serve as a guide to referees when deciding on ratings (in section E of the assessment form - see Page 4). Each attribute listed in Section E is briefly described below. It is not intended that the description should be regarded as exhaustive. The purpose is to provide a common basis for evaluating the important qualities required of persons seeking promotion by merit to Principal.

Teaching

Quality of the teacher's relationship with students. Factors to be considered include:

. empathy and rapport with students

- ability to develop in students a constructive approach to learning
- response to student needs
- respect for and development of students; self-worth

Planning and preparation. Factors to be considered include:

- evidence of thoughtful planning and preparation
- maintenance of appropriate student records provision for diagnostic, remedial and enrichment activities
- use of appropriate resources

Teaching skills. Factors to be considered include:

- maintaining the interest and attention of students
- clarity of explanations and directions
- use of sound questioning techniques
- provision for student participation in lessons
- provision in teaching strategies for different levels of student ability
- use of content and examples meaningful in local context
- use of language appropriate to student level of development.

Classroom Management. Teacher achieves:

- routines for effective teaching
- orderly transition from one activity to another
- effective supervision of all pupils whilst working with individuals or groups
- positive, fair and consistent discipline
- flexibility in dealing with different situations and pupil behaviours

Professional qualities. The teacher demonstrates:

- commitment to and enthusiasm for teaching
- awareness of new developments and issues in education
- involvement in the corporate life of the school
- commitment to the development of a caring school environment
- intellectual awareness and growth

. appropriate use of language.

Professional Leadership

Decision-Making

Effective leaders are good decision-makers. Aspects to be considered include:

Encouraging participation

. establishes procedures that allow members of the school community with interest and expertise to participate in collective decision-making

. promotes a sense of togetherness (team building).

Achieving workable decisions

. takes into account the views of staff, parents, students, employers and the wider community

. seeks ideas from other as well as proposing new ideas.

Achieving effective implementation

Sets goals that are realistic in that they take account of the context in which they must be achieved and recognise the level and nature of the resources available.

Delegating authority effectively

Ensures that those members of the school community expected to implement decisions know what is expected and have the resources/ability to carry them through.

School leadership and management skills

Communication with staff and parents

. ensures that channels exist for effective communication in both directions (newsletters, parent nights, staff meetings, circulation of minutes from meetings)

. ensures that the school community is kept informed of school activities and educational issues

. encourages and welcomes informal discussions

. demonstrates concern for the intellectual, physical, social and emotional well-being of staff and students.

Setting and achieving educational goals

. awareness of the structures needed to develop democratic decision-making in schools

- ensures that goals are democratically determined within the context of the Education Act and Regulations

- utilizes the different skills and abilities of the school community to achieve goals

- provides leadership in at least some aspects of school curriculum

- contributes where necessary to the development of the skills needed to be an active participant in school decision-making.

Staff utilisation and supervision

- ensures that staff are kept abreast of educational change through inservice provision and generally are involved in professional development

- demonstrates an awareness of the extra talents and knowledge of staff and ensures the full range of talents and resources available to the school is used

- exhibits a style of supervision that encourages a positive commitment from staff to the educational goals of the school

- ensures the most efficient use of strengths of the various members of the school community.

Effective contribution to the management of school finances and resources

- demonstrates well developed management and administrative skills in the use of internal and external financial and other resources available to the school

- ensures that school resources are well used.

RESOURCES AND PAPERS PRODUCED BY THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA ON GENDER EQUITY IN EDUCATION

Policy & Program Documents

Policy from the Director-General's Office, *Equality in Education with Particular Reference to Women and Girls*,No. 23 (May 1980).

Conference Reports

Women in Education. (1981) Report of the Women in Education Conference.

Women in Education: Women in Transition. (1982) Report of the Women in Education Conference.

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Women in Education: Women and Girls in a Technological Society. (1984) Report of the Women in Education Conference.

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Commentary on the Beazley Report as it Applies to the Equal Opportunity Branch. (March 1984) Equal Opportunity Branch.

Issues' Arising from the McGaw Report. (March 1984) Equal Opportunity Branch.

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Implications for the School Systems of Anti-Discrimination Legislation. (January 1985) Background paper for the Australian Education Council Meeting.

Implications for the Education Department of WA of Sex Discrimination Legislation. (October 1984) A circular to schools, Equal Opportunity Branch.

United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. (October 1984) Report of the Education Department of WA, Equal Opportunity Branch.

Summary of the Australian Youth Employment Review as it Relates to Girls' Employment. (March 1985) Equal Opportunity Branch.

Boys Muscle in on Computers. (March 1985) Equal Opportunity Branch.

Research Papers

Brown, S.K. & Fitzpatrick, J. *Girls, Boys and Subject Choice.* (June 1981) Discussion Paper No. 11, Research Branch, Education Department of WA.

Brown, S.K. *The Sex Factor in the Selection of Intellectually Talented Youth.* (1983) SSPP Evaluation, Report No. 2, Research Branch, Education Department of WA.

Brown S.K. & Fitzpatrick, J. *Breaking the Sex Stereotype Circle.* (1983) SET, (1).

Resources for Schools

New Options for West Australian. (1985) Resource Booklet for students of men's and women's non-traditional occupations, Equal Opportunity Branch.

This Could be Your Daughter. (1983) A pamphlet for parents about career options for girls, Equal Opportunity Branch.

School, Work, Family: The Facts. (1985) A data resource for schools on the role of women in society, Equal Opportunity Branch.

Girls' Education: Women's Lives. A Year 8 social studies unit on equal opportunities for everyone. Wanneroo Senior High School.

Women and the Changing Workforce. Resource for Secondary School teachers. Governor Stirling Senior High School.

Curriculum Resource for Teachers to Mark the End of United Nations Decade for Women. A pamphlet with across-the-curriculum ideas for primary and secondary teachers.

Regular Publications

"Shai". Newsletter of the Equal Opportunity Branch, WA Education Department (3 publications per year).

Audio-Visual Resources

New Options for West Australians. A video tape to accompany the booklet of the same name, 1984.

It's a Girls' World Too. (1983) A video tape produced by the Audio-Visual Branch of the WA Education Department in conjunction with the Equal Opportunity Branch.

Life Cycle of a Woman. (1981) A video tape produced by the Audio-Visual Branch of the WA Education Department in conjunction with TAFE Counselling Service.

West Ed Report: Equal Opportunity. (July 1985) A video produced by the Audio-Visual Branch for public TV examining contensious issues in equal opportunity policy.

Publications/Resources in Preparation

New Directions in Education: Women's role and Influence. (1985) Report of the Women in Education Conference.

Person to Person: The Gender Code and Interpersonal Dynamics at the Primary School Level. A Commonwealth Schools Commission Project of National Significance to stimulate and support school-based teacher development. Completion Date: April 1986.

A set of four posters for schools advertising Gender Equity Issues. Completion Date: July 1985.

A set of four stickers (for students and staff) advertising Gender Equity Issues. Completion Date: August 1985.

The Single Sex Option. An issue paper exploring the idea of single sex classes within a co-education setting. Completion Date: August 1985.

Educating Your Daughter. A booklet for parents. A joint project of the Women's Advisory Council and the Equal Opportunity Branch, WA Education Department. Completion Date: December, 1985.

Printed by Community Education Centre, Warragul